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Scotland of the Scots

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PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD

From a miniature in the possession of
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Scotland of the Scots

By

G. R. Blake

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NOTE

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Scotland of the Scots

CHAPTER I

THE GENESIS OF THE RACE

THE Scots are potent controversialists, and no subject, perhaps, has been more productive of argumentative theses than the sadly vexed question of the origin of the Scottish race. This matter, however, does not affect the purposes of this volume, which deals with the Scots of to-day, and it is sufficient to state the sole fact on which the learned disputants agree: that the primogenitors of the people north of Tweed were Celts, wandering tribes from Gaul. These, it seems, were the Picts, who, with the Scots—a later race—proved such a sharp thorn in the sides of the Romans and subsequent rulers of that country which is now England. It is concerning the origin of these Scots that controversy has raged, one faction holding that they were, like the Picts, a Gallic tribe which colonised parts of Scotland at the same time and in the same manner, another that they were a branch of the Irish Celts who migrated thence to Argyllshire. A preponderance of expert opinion favours this latter theory: that a migration took place in the early centuries of the Christian era, these emigrants establishing the Kingdom of Dalriada, the modern Argyllshire. The difference of opinion, moreover, does not concern us; it is sufficient to know that this Celtic tribe, the Scots, grew in strength and power till, ultimately, they became the dominant race in the north and, intermixing with other Celtic tribes, formed the roots of that definite race, the Highlanders of the present day.

In passing, it must be noted that the Scotland of those early days was bounded on the south by the lines of the Forth and Clyde, where Antoninus, the Roman, built his protective wall. And this fact is of interest when we consider that the nerve-centre of modern Scotland, the Lowlands, is situated south of that line. These Lowlands, then, have a complicated history. Peopled first by Britons, they were colonised successively by representatives of every tribe that formed the basis of the modern British people. First we have the aboriginal Britons of Strathclyde, then the brief Roman occupation, then a settlement of Angles in the Lothians, a second Celtic community in Galloway, Saxon, Danish and Scottish invaders, and, lastly, Norman and English settlers. All these races, however transient, left their marks. They intermingled freely, they settled on and developed the land, they introduced crafts unknown to the ruder Celtic peoples, and, when the Kingdom of Scotland was extended by conquest to its present boundaries, they remained under Scottish rule to found that sturdy and resourceful people we know to-day as Lowland Scots. Of such, with an element of Scandinavian blood in the extreme north and east coasts, are the Scottish people.

The Lowland People.

Time, of course, was to work many changes; but it is a notable fact that, despite the fusion and the historical and political changes of different periods, the distinction between Highlanders and Lowlanders remains clear even in this twentieth century. An appreciation of this fact is essential to a proper understanding of Scotland of the Scots. The Highlanders, descendants of the clansmen of old, dwellers in the barren counties of the west and north, remain to this day a race apart. In language, customs and ideals they differ essentially from the modernised Lowlander. It was their forefathers who, after the Union of the English and Scottish Crowns, remained true to the Stewart cause and their own

A Distinction.

clan system, till the battle of Culloden in 1746 settled the destiny of Scotland for all time. But the characteristics remain deeply-rooted. Though modern commerce and development have spread tentacles to the heart of the mountains, the Highlanders retain many of their old-time ideals. To some extent they are modernised, to some extent there are industries and activities in the Highlands which are not typically Highland; but compare this sporadic activity with the throbbing industrialism of the Lowlands and it proves a trifle. The Highlands have few natural resources, and the Highlanders remain fishermen and agriculturists where agriculture is possible; they would be hunters still were not their native mountains sacrosanct to the grouse and deer of plutocratic sportsmen. For they remain, those of them who are left, true to the old traditions.

Natural Causes.

The heterogeneous Lowlanders, on the other hand, have had every material advantage over their more purely Celtic countrymen. The coal and iron fields that made Scotland's commercial greatness are in the very heart of the Lowlands; the banks of the two great waterways of overseas traffic, the Clyde and the Forth, were peopled by Lowlanders, a race of craftsmen, which the Highlanders were not. They were nearer to England and the sources of learning and civilisation; their great towns, Edinburgh and Glasgow, became inevitably the seats of government, civil and religious, and of learning. The Lowlanders were a receptive, industrious people whose country offered great opportunity for the application of these talents, and there existed no powerful tradition to prevent the spread of industrialism; the Highlanders were imbued with a fierce tradition of independence, they were conservative and their land was barren of material resources. It is easy, therefore, to see how Scotland has developed to her present condition, and how the Lowlanders came to be the more economically vital race after the clan system had been shattered by the armies of the Hanoverians at Culloden.

This distinction between the two primal races of Scotland grows less and less marked with the advance of time, and it must not be thought that the divergent traditions have militated against the evolution of a uniform national spirit. Far from it! Under one crown, the Highlanders and Lowlanders, however different their respective temperaments and ideals, were united in a struggle for existence as a nation that was bound, in the nature of things, to produce a sentiment wholly Scottish. Kilted clansmen, Galloway Kerns, and men-at-arms from Tweeddale and Clydesdale alike rallied round the standard at Bannockburn, and, shoulder to shoulder, fought for independence against the army of Edward I, the Hammer of the Scots. And so, for centuries, Highlanders and Lowlanders fought together that they might remain under the one crown of Scotland, till the day when a Scottish King, James, ascended the throne of England and the old feud was at an end. It would be passing strange, then, if that long association in arms did not produce a national spirit, however unproductive the internal relations of Highlanders and Lowlanders might have been. We know that it has evolved the essentials of the Scottish sentiment: the strong, almost fierce, independence, patriotism, love of home and home sentiment that distinguish the Scot abroad.

Before leaving this brief survey of historical antecedents, we must note two important events which have greatly affected Scottish life, institutions and manners.

The Auld Alliance.

Of these the first in point of time was the "Auld Alliance," the treaty with France which lasted through 250 critical years of Scotland's history. It was, in the first intention, a purely political and defensive alliance, aimed against the kings of England, whose acts of aggression were a serious menace to French and Scottish possessions; and, though the first fruits took the form of mutual military and financial aid in times of stress, the close association with a continental nation was all for Scotland's good. It offered an early opportunity for foreign trade, and

the records of these times prove that the international trading was very considerable; it brought Scotland into the direct line of culture and learning during the Renaissance period; it afforded an outlet for the activities of Scots abroad, and they, in time, returned to confer on their native land the benefits of cosmopolitan knowledge. Scotland benefited directly through the Alliance in respect of her legal system which remains now, as then, more closely based on the Roman system than that of England, in respect of her scheme of University government, and in general culture. Less important traces are apparent to-day in Scottish architecture, customs, and dialect.

The Reformation.

The second great event that has wielded powerful influence on the evolution of the modern Scot was the religious Reformation of the sixteenth century. Under that doughty old fighter, John Knox, the country turned to Protestantism from the bigotry and corruption of Roman Catholicism, represented by the notorious Cardinal Beaton. It was a protracted struggle, involving serious political considerations, but, again, the details of its progress and modifications do not interest us; it is sufficient that the accomplished Reformation had a far-reaching effect on the development of the nation. Almost, it was to Scotland what the Revolution was to France two centuries later. The Scots found themselves, thereafter, a free-thinking people, and that, to an inherently religious race, was much. But what seems more important in the modern sense is that Knox's reforming zeal extended beyond religion to education, and for that alone he might well be famous. The parish schools, those fountain-heads of Scottish achievement in art, letters and science, were first proposed by the reformer, and, though the idea was not carried out till many years later, that pride of Scotland, her educational system, was a direct result of the great Reformation. This educational beginning, coupled with similar results from the French alliance, is responsible for that universally sound standard

of erudition which has characterised the Scottish people generally for centuries past ; it accounts for many phases of Scottish character, to be dealt with in later chapters.

It will be understood that these items of history have been treated but slightly and, indeed, would have been omitted entirely, were it not that so many phases of modern Scotland would be open to misapprehension but for the explanation of precedent offered by history. The modern Scot is, perhaps, too prone to glory in the history of his country—and not always in its most creditable events. But Scotland is not a new country; tradition thrives strongly there. The Scots could not forget, if they would, that behind them is a history.

CHAPTER II

THE NATIONAL CHARACTER

It is not altogether strange that a certain prestige belongs to Scotland and the Scottish people among other races. It is largely justified by the not inglorious history of the small country north of the Tweed, and by the self-contained characteristics of those who come thence to make their marks in spheres of more than provincial extent. Countless anecdotes exist in illustration of the excellences of the "canny Scot"; these Scots themselves are not prone to hide the national light under a bushel; and, on account of these and contributory causes, the tradition thrives and is accepted—even if burlesqued—by those outside the narrow geographical limits of Scotland. Native writers—such as E. B. Ramsay, Dean of Edinburgh—have expended much labour in demonstrating and examining the characteristics of their countrymen. Most of them have contented themselves with mere recitals of illustrative anecdote; and, since the vernacular legend sedulously avoids the less genial aspects of a people's modes and manners, the writings of a Scot concerning Scots cannot be digested without the regulative grain of salt. Every Scot is, in more or less degree, *laudator temporis acti*, and tacitly assumes that the splendid gift of character which made history has descended unimpaired even to the present generation. This assumption is of itself one of the least attractive facets of the Scottish mentality.

Fundamentals.

Observed from the exterior, however, the Scot creates the impression of worthy solidarity. There is no subtlety in him, no flashy stratum that might tend to unreliability of behaviour. His foundations, it might be said, are on rock. You feel that he is safe, that he is hard, and that these virtues will take him far in the struggle for existence under modern conditions.

And this view is justified; for these are the very qualities which have carried so many Scotsmen to positions of eminence, trust and leadership. This thoroughness—" dourness " is the native word—compounded of natural independence, ingrained religiosity, absence of bright wit (if not of quiet humour) and a tendency to consider ways and means—that, indeed, is a valuable possession. It goes to the making of sturdy colonists, strong soldiers and forceful administrators, and, as every soldier carries the bâton of a marshal in his knapsack, so does every Scot harbour the germs of greatness. Only the presence of less friendly bacilli in the national constitution prevents a still greater representation of northerners in the high places.

Carlyle, himself a Scot, wrote of " the good and the not so good, which all Scotsmen inherit," and it is a regrettable thought that, if " the good " is not affected by the passage of time, " the not so good " increases in proportion as modern commercial ideals insinuate themselves into the lives of the descendants of Wallace Wight and John Knox and Walter Scott. But there is truth in the counter-argument that the opportunity of proving the good has been lacking. And now the twentieth century has brought that opportunity in the shape of a great war; and, while it is yet early to judge effects, it would seem that Scotland has done her part as well as it could be done. We shall find, perhaps, that the old warlike propensities and the love of truth and justice but slumbered while such conditions reigned as did not demand their active application. However modified, these innate qualities of the good have survived, unimpaired fundamentally, and the tradition is fairly justified.

Formative Causes.

Nothing good comes without a struggle, and it can be urged with truth that the Scots fought for such good qualities as they possess, or rather, that the good evolved during the centuries through which the nation fought for its own rights of political and religious independence. Almost every Scottish characteristic

Photo by *Hardie*

THE WALLACE MONUMENT AT STIRLING

is traceable to this protracted conflict, and they have survived because the issue of the conflict was consistently favourable to the Scots. Roman conquest ended at the Grampians, behind which the Picts and the Scots defied the legionaries. In later centuries, when Scotland was united under one king, the foreign elements below the Highland line were driven southward beyond the Tweed, and the extended kingdom was held intact against the repeated assaults of the English, till the Scots—of their own free will—consented to a union with the southern people in the eighteenth century. The story of the religious struggle is even bloodier. Protestantism triumphed over Catholicism in a sufficiently brief struggle, but two centuries passed of persecution and massacre and poverty ere Scotsmen won the right to worship in their chosen form of Protestantism. From first to last, the story of Scotland is one of strife from which the people escaped victoriously; it is an epic of the triumph of conviction.

Patriotism.

Patriotism and independence were the natural reflex actions of such a struggle on national character, and these traits remain well-defined, though Scotland has been at peace for two centuries and commercialism has been spreading through half that period. It is obvious that the modern Scot can demonstrate his patriotism only as it affects the United Kingdom; but the worship of the past dies hard. Lacking a natural outlet, Scottish patriotism shows a tendency to develop into the blindest of reverence for long-dead heroes and incidents that would normally pass into oblivion. So strong is this influence, the modern Scot is too often tolerant of false ideals in history, art and sentiment. Out of it grow such manifestations as the Scottish Patriotic Rights Association, whose adherents will still aver that King Edward VII was but King Edward I, of Scotland, and who, bearing pledges of memory, will peregrinate annually to the field of Bannockburn, conveniently oblivious of the bitter memory of Pinkie and Flodden. Jacobite feeling is not altogether dead.

Earnest legitimists will still lay floral tributes on the effigies of representatives of the Stewart dynasty. The same ultra-Scottish sentiment, however, finds its most ebullient expression in those widespread organisations, the Burns clubs. In them and their activities are enshrined the dearest memories and traditions of the northern race; under their aegis, the Scot casts off the slough of commercialism and artificiality and reverts to the status of one of " John Thomson's bairns," which desirable, if not very dignified, condition is based on the inference that all men are equal and that Robert Burns voiced the truest sentiment of democracy. In intention, the movement is sentimentally and artistically sound; in effect, it is hardly creditable to Scotland. The false sentiment triumphs almost invariably and the broader ideals are lost sight of. They are but flimsy, modern manifestations of a national spirit that was once lusty and genuine.

These ebullitions, it is true, have little material effect on the influence of national character, but they have a serious aspect in that they tend to limit a people's outlook and so stultify their higher activities. To some considerable extent, the broader development of music and the drama in Scotland has been hindered by the deliberately parochial sentiment that obtains among the mass of Scottish people. This characteristic has retained the national religion in unbending austerity. It forms the great limitation of a race that is otherwise endowed with unique sense and capability. Sanity is in itself a virtue, but sanity without breadth or receptiveness is akin to mediocrity.

The Church-going Scot.

The results of the religious strife of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are adumbrated in what is, perhaps, the most marked characteristic of the Scots. Few nations are so notably religious; seldom do theological conventions and creeds so profoundly affect social and political manners as among the Presbyterians of the north. The religious conviction of the Scots down to fairly recent times might well be described as

fierce. But again, as in every other department of modes and manners, modern influences have been at work, modifying, diminishing, and, often, annulling the intensity of Scottish feeling. Where his forefathers were fervid, the modern Scot is sometimes merely sanctimonious and pietistic. A former generation could reconcile a simple, earnest religion with its simple modes of life, while the present strives to maintain the inherited religious integrity in the midst of twentieth century conditions. The result is too often precisianism and over-righteousness. In the country places, untouched by the soiled fingers of commercialism, the peasant retains his fervour in all its beautiful simplicity. He may be narrow, he may be intolerant, yet he is honest. But the followers of commerce are faced with the harder problem, and the native of Lowland Scotland—which is the throbbing heart of the country—stands at the parting of the ways. His sense warns him that the old-time austerity must unbend; his tradition and sentiment revolt from what he would consider a betrayal and a bartering of the sacrifices of his forebears.

The Scots Sabbath.

The spirit of the times is apparent in the modern manner of celebrating the staid Presbyterian observances, and nowhere is it more definite than in that notorious institution, "the Scots Sabbath." The old school—and it still boasts some representatives—deplores the "Continental" tendencies of the latter-day Presbyterians and sees in these tendencies a grave danger to the stability of the national church. Whether it be alarming or not, the change is undeniable. Two generations back the ritual of Sunday was universally terrible and impressive, and so thorough that the later hours of the Saturday night were set aside for material and spiritual preparation. "Worldliness" was the wraith that haunted the grave elder. In all houses rooms were cleaned, fires were laid, foods prepared for the morrow, books for Sunday reading laid out and family prayers read at an early hour. On

Sunday, only such housework was performed as seemed absolutely necessary; dishes were left unwashed till the morrow, and play forbidden to the children. From eleven o'clock till four o'clock, with a break of an hour, the Presbyterian family was in Church, and, for the young people, a Sunday School class kept their thoughts on religion from five o'clock till seven. Such was the severe routine of the Scots Sabbath, and that not more than fifty years ago. The Englishman finds difficulty in understanding that the wearing of bright clothes, children's laughter, the most innocent play, even reading, were deprecated. Yet it was all very characteristic of the Scots.

The transition has been swift and thorough. Religion is still a force in Scotland, but the ritual is no longer observed with the former intensity of conviction. The Scots Sabbath is a thing of the past. But it is not "Continental"—the tradition lingers too persistently for that. For the stranger, a Sunday passed in one of the Lowland cities is a drab experience. Tramway cars are running, but their destinations are not the pleasure-gardens of France; the few steamers that ply on the Clyde are known still as the "Sunday-breakers"; to all appearance, the flat-faced tenements shelter families spending the day of rest in the traditional manner. The situation, however, is almost hypocritical. There are half-hearted tendencies towards southern standards, but national habit and character seem unwilling to throw off the bonds imposed by the habit of generations. Among certain classes of society, the week-end habit is growing along with a disinclination to spend any part of Sunday in church; with others, traditional conscience is salved by one brief church service and the remaining hours of the day spent in moderate pleasure; an exiguous minority adheres to the severity of past days. In short, Scotland's attitude is changing. The old order has not entirely given place to the new, and the Scots retain something of the old fashions in religious observances with an ever-weakening belief in their necessity and congruity.

Independence, patriotism and religiosity are the broader and more direct effects of Scottish history on Scottish character. But these qualities are not peculiar to the Scots alone, and they are possibly less apparent to the alien than certain other idiosyncrasies which sprang more indirectly from the same formative causes. It is a convention of burlesque to depict the Scot as the typical niggard. The convention is of respectable antiquity.

"Bang Went Saxpence!"

> "Tury, vous quittez donc la cour
> Pour vous jeter dans la negoce;
> Ce n'est plus celui de l'amour
> Mais celui d'Espagne ou d'Ecosse . . . "

So runs a verse of early French badinage which was the first of a long series of jests at the expense of the "canny Scot," culminating in the *Punch* classic of "Bang went saxpence!" The Gallic quatrain dates from the days of the Auld Alliance, when the merchants from the north proved their commercial astuteness in bartering with their allies. The soft impeachment is not unfounded. Illiberality in commerce is the natural outcome of the poverty that for centuries assailed a country steeped in continual war and naturally poor in material resources. Scotland's prosperity is of the last six decades, and came with the wave of industrialism that swamped so much of what was best in the Scottish character.

Individual open-handedness has not had opportunity to develop—and, as a nation, the Scots are not niggardly. They are hospitable, they are charitable, and they are generous givers to a generous cause. The national caution is not far removed from the national passion for fairness; it is the attitude of one who inherently dislikes giving or taking something for nothing. In grain, the Scotsman is a cautious man of business, but he is not a miser, and the characteristic is one of his most powerful natural reinforcements in the battle of life. Of all the traits which have aided Scotsmen to greatness, caution has ever been most helpful, since, in contrast

with his natural unwillingness to spend frivolously, the man from the north possesses unerring instinct for the right moment to give.

A Sense of Humour.

Sydney Smith was the writer responsible for the tradition that the Scot is deficient in humorous perception. "It requires a surgical operation to get a joke well into a Scotch understanding. Their only idea of wit, which prevails occasionally in the north, and which, under the name of WUT, is so infinitely distressing to people of good taste, is laughing immoderately at stated intervals"—so wrote the nimble-witted divine, and his verdict was upheld by the less ungenerous Charles Lamb. Against this judgment the statement of a *Punch* editor is to be quoted: that the greater percentage of quips in the classic journal during his term of office emanated from Scotland; and somewhere between these conflicting testimonies lies the happy mean of truth. In wit, defined as the quick play of mind and the apt word, the Scots certainly do not scintillate. The mental habit of the people is too deliberate, too analytical for that. But of humour—the quieter, the more human phase of that which amuses—the people of the north possess a rich endowment. Further analysis of the characteristic leads only into a fog of metaphysical definition. The Scots are a humorous people, and, if the humour is denied or misunderstood, the reason is to be found in its self-contained character. So much of its zest is derived from the dialect, so much from the incongruity of humour from the grave Scot, and so much from what Dean Ramsay has called, for lack of a better word, "Scottishness." The conventional epithet is "pawky," that quality that seems more associated with the variety stage than with real life, and may be defined as dry, bantering, slyly facetious, and friendly. But it is frequently misapplied. The gambits of "Scotch comedians" and kindred exponents of a spurious Scottish humour must inevitably be described as "pawky," whereas the true, everyday humour of the Scots alone merits the adjective.

The real meaning of the vernacular phrase once comprehended, Scottish humour needs no further definition or defence.

This traditional reputation for dullness of understanding is closely allied to another belief which postulates that the Scots "take their pleasures sadly." Again, there is a grain of truth in the statement, and again, the truth is obscured by a haze of misapprehension. Deliberation and thoughtfulness are easily mistaken for obtuseness or insensibility. It would be idle to deny that the most light-hearted holiday throng in Scotland is infinitely less buoyant, less *spirituel* than, say, that which in normal times disports itself on the Thames on any Sunday afternoon in June. The degree of enjoyment, however, is not to be measured by outward signs. The Scottish temperament abounds in the most British of British characteristics, the quality of phlegm which marks the nation so distinctly in continental eyes. To give expression to emotion is the last manifestation to be expected from the Scot; he is too severely logical, too introspective, almost too self-conscious. In this can be found a trace of national egotism. The conscious pride of race is seldom absent even in these latter days when nationality is merging slowly but surely into something more cosmopolitan; but it is a more genuine demonstration of race than any of the conscious and vocal ebullitions of sentiment that are so characteristic of certain kinds of Scots in this present age of transition.

Gravity.

It is not easy in this twentieth century to arrive at a fair estimate of Scottish character, however obvious may be its influence on provincial affairs or on the destinies of the united nation. In too many of its phases, the real, innate good has been obscured by artificialities born of uninterrupted prosperity and a century's peace during which the national spirit has lain inert, untried in the furnaces of serious political or religious strife. Foreign influences have been at work in a hundred forms affecting conduct, manners and temperament.

Modern Influences.

Questionable methods in commerce, false ideals in democracy, banal tendencies in art and recreation, sensationalism and, worst of all, sentimentalism—these and kindred workings of modernism have been reacting on Scotland during a critical period. The problems of agriculture and rural politics are lost sight of; the Lowland industrial areas with their labour questions and sociological difficulties absorb every interest. Into these vortices, as into a modern factory, the best seems to be drawn, only to reissue changed and unrecognisable in its national character. A new type of Scotsman is being evolved—a Scot in whom the traditional characteristics are still marked, but whose point of view has been altered radically in less than half a century.

But, again, it is not only possible but probable that this phase is transitory. If thinking Scotsmen have hoped and prayed for an awakening, it has surely come with the Great War in which a nation that fought through the centuries for liberty must certainly find opportunity for vindicating its dearest ideal and so freeing itself from the baser effects of the modern incubus. " The good " of which Carlyle wrote is not dead, but slept through a period during which it was not tested; the " not so good " of tradition cannot be eradicated, and these blemishes are not more than those of other races; but the " not so good " of artificial condition must disappear in the test of war. The Great Awakening, if it means, in the broad sense, a new civilisation, must also bring in its train the forces that will make Scotland anew.

CHAPTER III

THE LOWLANDS

THE geographical boundary between the Highlands and the Lowlands of Scotland cannot be stated without the creation of a purely arbitrary and, possibly, misleading distinction. It has been a convention to draw the line roughly between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and, while that is the historical barrier, it apportions to the Highlands the industrial area of Fifeshire and the characteristically Lowland cities of Dundee and Aberdeen. The true frontier—if one exists so definitely—runs, not east and west, but diagonally across the face of the country from Aberdeenshire to the Clyde and follows the line of the Grampians, the *Druimalbainn* of the Celts. West and north of the mountains lies a country whose people are individually distinct from the mass; south and east are the Lowlands, the richer, more articulate, more potential half of the country with its heterogeneous millions.

Population.

As illustrating the relative population and wealth of Highlands and Lowlands, the usually dry bones of statistics are not uninteresting. Inverness, the largest Highland county and the broadest of Scotland, with its area of 2,695,094 acres, carried in 1911 a population of 87,270; Argyll, the second largest, with an average of 1,990,472 supported 70,902 souls. Compare these figures with the corresponding elements of typical Lowland counties. Lanark, covering 562,821 acres, has a population of 1,447,113; Renfrew with 153,332 acres, has a population of 314,594. And these are typical of their respective districts. But the Lowlands are not without thinly populated areas. The 686,302 acres of Dumfries carry only 72,824 people, and Peebles, of 222,240 is sparsely populated by 15,258. These figures present striking differences, but

the economic reasons are not far to seek. Broad Scotland has a preponderance of barren acres over rich lands. For the greatest part, the Highlands are covered with bleak, unprofitable hills, and hardly one vital modern industry exists between the Mull of Cantyre and Cape Wrath, while the Lowlands are in no better case so far as agriculture is concerned. Pockets of productive lands are scattered here and there, but south of Tweed and Clyde—a very considerable area—the land rises again to hills on which only sheep and sheep-farmers can find a living. The mass of population, then, is very localised and is to be found only where the land produces more than heather. Clydesdale, from Wishaw west to Greenock on the Firth, is most thickly populated, but the belt of industry stretches across country through southern Stirlingshire to Linlithgow and Edinburgh, where coal-fields again and oil-shale districts concentrate habitation. Southern Fifeshire has its quota of mining towns and villages, Dundee makes the mark of industrialism on an otherwise agricultural area, and Aberdeen, 100 miles north of Edinburgh, holds a population of 164,000 by virtue of its proximity to the fisheries of the North Sea.

Origin.

The Lowlanders, inhabitants of the busy districts, though they are the typical Scots of to-day and possess a certain racial homogeneity, have sprung from very diverse sources of origin. While it is convenient to consider Highlanders and Lowlanders as people apart, the Celtic element, however transmogrified, is the strongest strain in the inhabitants of central Scotland. Especially in the west is this fact patent. Glasgow was always the trading-centre for the Western Highlands and, naturally, became the Mecca of those clansmen whose communal life was interrupted by the Hanoverian victory at Culloden. To this day, it attracts the Celt, and the population of the Western Lowlands, particularly the counties of Dumbarton, Renfrew, Lanark and Ayr, is strongly infused with Highland blood. The east, on the other hand, has come

under the harder Scandinavian influence. Edinburgh is Lowland of the Lowlands, staid, conventional and unbending, while the reputation of Aberdeen is that of a city whose inhabitants typify the most rugged traits of the national character. Towns and cities concentrate local idiosyncrasies and, if the people of Glasgow and Aberdeen differ characteristically, the distinction between the country folks of Lanarkshire and Aberdeenshire is much less abrupt. The agricultural population of the Lowlands from the north to south has that universality of view by which the tillers of the soil are for ever distinguished from the parochial sentiment and prejudices of rival burghs. Type varies little among the country people; only through dialect and the more obvious influences of environment is classification possible.

Language.

Dialect, by which the Scot is so easily distinguished among English-speaking peoples, is also tell-tale, in its variations, of the varieties of Scots. These variations, moreover, are enlightening criteria of the influences that have moulded the Lowlanders. In the wide sense, "Braid Scots" itself is a pure dialect of the English language and not very different, radically, from that in which Chaucer wrote the *Canterbury Tales*. At one time, no doubt, Gaelic was the speech of all Scotland; but, as the Gaels were gradually hemmed in towards the north and west and Saxons came to the Lowlands under Norman protection, the southern tongue became an institution. In time, the Saxons were forced to depart but the language remained, however altered in the process of adoption. Since these times, the influence of pure English has softened the vernacular; widespread education has not entirely eradicated its characteristics but, rather, has assisted in the evolution of a new and impure popular speech which is not dialect affected by pure English but board-school English grievously impaired by dialectic tendencies. The stranger has but to read Mr. J. J. Bell's *Wee Macgreegor* for proof of this. Only among country people is Braid Scots spoken in its pristine

purity, for the hybrid speech has been unconsciously adopted by those who live in populous centres. Local modifications, however, are yet very definitely marked. In the western counties, proximity to and fusion with the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders have given the dialect a character very different from that of the remainder of the Lowlands. The Gaelic and Saxon tongues have not blended felicitously. Clydesdale speech is coarse, slovenly, and notoriously inelegant, complicated, as it is, by the vernacular brought over with the numerous northern Irishmen who find employment in the shipyards. Its quintessence is spoken by the Glasgow "keelie" (*cf.* Gaelic—*gille* = boy), who enunciates slowly but negligently and with the falling inflexion characteristic of the west. In the country, speech partakes of the same general nature, but it is purer dialect, differing little from that used by Burns. The man from the east speaks with a rising, almost querulous inflexion, more crisply and more precisely than the westerner. Lothian dialect—of which Stevenson was a painstaking exponent—is typical. Further north, in Forfar and Kincardine, is the vernacular of Barrie's "Auld Licht" tales, culminating in the craggy, uncompromising speech of the Aberdonians. The difference between western and eastern dialect is all the difference between western and eastern temperament. Closer to the Celts in blood and sentiment as well as in geographical location, the people of the west are more receptive and more emotional, if less scrupulous, than their brothers of the east, who, however, are more truly Scottish and, certainly, more truly Lowland in their qualities.

Two Cities.

The cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh give zest to the comparison. They share the same line of latitude, they are in close touch by reason of forty miles of busy railway line, and yet it is doubtful if any two cities of the same country present so many points of difference. Edinburgh is the capital and carries the prestige of a capital in whose narrow lanes as well as in

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ARGYLE STREET, GLASGOW

whose palaces, the greatest scenes of Scottish history were played. Holyrood has seen Rizzio murdered, and the dark closes and wynds round the High Street have resounded with the brawling of partisans in the troubled days of the Reformation. And the relics of those glamorous days have withstood the onslaughts of time and exist in Edinburgh in remarkable completeness. For Edinburgh, this is a fortunate condition, but for those whose concern it is to judge the Edinburgh of to-day, it is decidedly unfortunate; it is so difficult, as one writer has remarked, "to see the place save through a haze of history and romance." Certainly, the inhabitants of the capital cannot view their native city in the cold light of actuality. They are complacently satisfied with things as they are and that things could not be any better or more dignified. Everything really cultured and distinguished is reputed to be in Edinburgh—the seat of Scottish justice, the Academy of Scottish Art, and almost every other society that wields sovereign power in Scotland. And Edinburgh, in consequence, assumes an attitude of metropolitan complaisance towards the remainder of Scottish cities which, to be sure, she regards as provincial. It is but natural that Glasgow, the progressive, the ever-growing industrial capital, should resent the implication.

Glasgow.

But what has Glasgow to show against the capital's inherent greatness? Her legacy of history is negligible, her natural beauties are the negative ones of a great commercial centre, and her reputation as an artistic centre is in the making. Glasgow is modern. In wealth, in municipal alertness, and in sheer industrial capability, the city of the Clyde has few rivals. But she possesses assets far greater and worthier than these. The Glaswegians are fortunate in having a quite remarkable local spirit, a spirit that is eager for progress in the finer activities as well as in worldly concerns—and the results, though recent, are not unworthy of a great community. The revolutionary (and inevitable) movement in Scottish painting

had its birth and breeding in Glasgow, and the artists of the "Glasgow School" are yet closely allied with the city of their origin. If Scotland has any musical centre, then it is certainly in Glasgow. The strain of the impressionable Celt has given the west many artistic advantages over the east where the influence has never been powerful or deeply felt.

There is and there can be no genuine rivalry between Glasgow and Edinburgh. For they have nothing in common. The capital rests, senatorially, amidst the historical remains of centuries of national history. It is the show-town of Scotland and content to be such, serenely conscious of the fact that the broad dignity of Princes Street, the majesty of the Castle crowning the bastions of the rock, and the mystery that hangs about ancient Holyrood, will ever distract attention from the squalor of the slums behind the High Street. And Glasgow strives and grows, conscious of a different manner of supremacy. They are incompatible, the two cities, but they are respectively characteristic of the old and the new Scotland and, almost, of two different breeds of Scotsmen.

Provincial Towns.

Dundee is not an interesting city. It is the largest and grimiest manufacturing centre of the east, undistinguished as regards architecture, antiquity or art, but very typical of the modern Scottish towns that have prospered in the drab manner of commerce. Opulent Paisley, with its thread mills and statues of public benefactors in frock coats, and Greenock, with its rain and sugar-refineries, are the western counterparts. But the east has a city that is practically and humanly interesting. It is built of hard, grey, Rubislaw granite, and the stone has entered into the souls of the Aberdonians. They epitomise the "dourness" of the Scots. Shrewd, keen, intelligent, great colonisers and cosmopolitans, they possess, withal, the most parochial sentiment in broad Scotland. The Aberdonians are proud of their city—and, in its grey fashion, it is a city to be proud of. Though

often lacking in the gentler qualities, they are not backward in art, and their University is a force to be reckoned with in philosophy and medicine. It is somewhat strange that a city so extensive should have sprung up so far from the central coal-fields, but those who, knowing the Aberdeen character, have witnessed the early morning scenes at the Fish Market and the departure of the heavy fish-trains demand no explanations.

The Industrial Belt.

The industrial greatness of the Central Lowlands owes virtually everything to the happy geological accident by which two parallel "faults" right across the country from sea to sea left a great rift-valley, fifty miles wide, between the South Uplands and the Highlands; and made great coal-fields accessible. The rivers of Forth and Clyde run almost parallel, the one to the east, the other to the west, and about and between these natural lines of communication lie coal and iron fields of exceptional richness. In this limited area the new Scotland is being evolved. The western coal-fields of Lanark, Ayr and eastern Renfrew are the most extensive, and contribute to the successful prosecution of the great engineering and ship-building activity centred on the Clyde, which, again, is broader and deeper than the eastern stream, and leads to the greater trade routes of the Atlantic. From Glasgow, where western commerce reaches its height, the narrow plain carries industrialism over to the East Coast, coal recrudescing in Midlothian and in the greater Fife field that runs from Stirling eastward to the ports of Burntisland and Methil on the Forth. It is a narrow belt this, in area about one-tenth of all Scotland, yet it is now the only populous and economically important part on which the remainder is dependent. Here are the modern towns, the modern activities, the modern ideals, attracting the folks of outlying parts and moulding them to type; here are being shaped the destinies of the country. There are, of course, sporadic areas of industry outside the central belt; Hawick,

Galashiels and the Tweeddale towns collect and manufacture the wool from the Border hills, and about Dundee lies a group of weaving centres; but in and about the coal-fields, roughly, in the plain between Glasgow and Edinburgh, is modern Scotland.

The Clyde.

For the traveller who thinks of the north as "Land of the mountain and the flood," the railway journey through the Clyde basin is a revelation. The London and North Western train from the south runs swiftly from a calm, pastoral valley into the Black Country of Scotland. Pitheads take the place of sheep-farms, and grey, gaunt towns of the nestling villages. With Motherwell comes the first sight of the colossal steel-works that blacken the landscape from Airdrie and Coat-bridge across country to Carron and Falkirk in the valley of the Forth. From here into Glasgow, works and dwellings seem continuous, as indeed they are, for the partition of this grim district into towns and parishes is political and not natural. The county of the City of Glasgow—the second city of the Empire—stretches along some ten miles of the Clyde, which here becomes a colourless, polluted tidal river. A steam-boat journey from Glasgow to Greenock will reward our traveller if he be attracted by the epic of human toil; for of all rivers of the world, only the Thames and Tyne can compare in that respect with the twenty-mile stretch that ends in the yacht-building slips of the Firth of Clyde. The passenger steamer sails by the high sterns of a hundred ships in the making, Dreadnought and dredger, liner and lighter, tramp and tug-boat. Clanging yards jostle one another from Govan to Bowling, in the crook of the Leven below Dumbarton Rock, and again, on the southern bank, along the five miles from Port-Glasgow to Greenock. If commercial activity has powers to inspire, then the Clyde is surely inspiring. It was in the words like these that an American correspondent wrote to his paper after a tour round the munition area of the western river: "The Central Powers

are attempting the impossible; they can never hope to beat these people at their own game."

The then neutral writer was not far from the mark. Ship-building, engineering, mining, manufacturing—in a word, commerce is the " game " of the Central Lowlands; and it is a new game, a result of modern specialisation. It has brought material prosperity; indeed, lacking this single area of industry, Scotland would cease to be of importance; but it has brought new problems. In the basin of the Clyde alone, almost one-half of the entire population of the country is located and racial elements are almost hopelessly confused. The strongest strain is yet a compound of Celt and Briton, but alien breeds—Irish, East Coast men, English, and, in mining districts, Poles—have leavened the mass. And this mass represents labour, with all its difficulties and problems, a new and fearsome proposition for the Scotland that, half a century past, was but mildly commercial and more widely agricultural. We are not concerned here with politics, but with the effects of the new régime on the lives and customs of the people in the Lowland towns. Rural Scotland is still heart-whole and stands in sharp distinction to industrial Scotland, though there can be no doubt that, little by little, the agricultural population is being dragged into the vortex of commerce and, divorced from the settling influence of the soil, moulded to what we are forced to call the form of the modern Scot.

The Middle-class Scot.

Northern readers of Mr. Arnold Bennett's tales of the Five Towns are inevitably attracted by the similarity between the Black Country of Staffordshire and their own Lowlands, particularly respecting the manners and mentality of the middle classes. Commercial Scotland is essentially middle-class. There is no place in these activities for the native aristocracy who, except in a few remote districts, are more in touch with English than with national interests. Edinburgh, it is true, is a city apart; the supreme courts, the permanent

garrison, and, not least, the dignity and amenity of the Capital, attract a population of distinguished social rank. And Edinburgh is worthy to be such a capital. It is compact, and its most elevated classes can reside, without loss of dignity, in the very heart of the city. But Glasgow, regarded as typical of western commercial towns, is different in every respect. The people are of a newer convention, and yet are more bourgeois than their brothers of the east. Their thought is to get on in business and in social life ; they are striving to establish another standard of eminence, and they have succeeded. The Capital is all for the eminence of birth and breeding ; Glasgow is for the eminence of natural capability and achievement. Geography has had much to do with this. Glasgow is not compact. It sprawls over square miles of country, the heart of the city is unattractive and unfashionable, and on the fringes are the various residential districts. Each of these is self-contained, but the whole lacks homogeneity. It is a far cry, practically and socially, from Dennistoun to Dowanhill, from Bearsden to Burnside. Yet, in some strange fashion, these suburbs escape parochial illusions. His abundant *esprit de corps*, perhaps, makes the Glaswegian think first of Glasgow, of the second city of the Empire, of the dangers of "provincialism." And he progresses, in art as in business, with middle-class vigour, untroubled by thoughts of patrician birth or aesthetic reputation.

The middle-class Scot is well able to look after himself; he is yet characteristically Scottish, the native product of an inevitable process of evolution, and his case presents no problems. But from him has sprung something of a phenomenon in the shape of the younger generation. Young Scotland is spreading outwards, and its development is not always on the happiest lines. The south, and particularly London, is its model for speech, manners, deportment, but it has not yet developed these powers of selection that would guarantee a

Younger Generations.

proper choice. Musical comedy is preferred to opera, and society weeklies to literature ; while there are still prosperous merchants not ashamed to speak in dialect, their successors will mince in an affected and unnatural English; and with these trivial tendencies are incongruously blended the harder traits of nationality. Briefly, young Scotland tends to the poorest brand of frivolity, a frivolity that is almost snobbery. It has put a wrong construction on modernism. The condition may seem unimportant and transitory, and one must trust that that is the case. But the prosperity of Scotland's middle classes was not attained without native " dourness," and frivolity, however weakly rooted, is not the best qualification for those who must carry on a worthy tradition.

Frivolity is a strange word to apply to the Scots whom tradition endows with very opposite qualities, but the germs are there, fattened by the process of commercial evolution. It is the fate of the dweller in provincial towns, those towns of crowded slums, few breathing-spaces, or convenient exits to the surrounding country. One could name a hundred such burghs in Scotland, and a score in the Clyde Valley alone. More uninspiring habitations than Airdrie or Coatbridge or Paisley could hardly be imagined. Rows of drab tenement-dwellings, narrow smoke-filled streets, and exiguous parks with austere and uninviting benches make up the typical Lowland town. Combine these natural conditions with the long, trying hours of labour and the new mentality is evolved. The thrifty, studious workmen of legend still live in sadly diminished numbers, and they are, naturally, more occupied with social problems than with the elusive issues of science and art; the remaining majority seeks only legitimate amusement and distraction from the dullness of environment. Transition has come upon them swiftly. It is reasonably safe to assume that, sixty years ago, the majority of workers or their fathers were of the soil or, at the worst, engaged in the unhurried commerce of small towns. Now these towns have grown to

Transition.

what is almost one black city, commerce is no longer the peaceful bartering of the old days, and human nature suffers reaction towards what, for want of a truer word, we call frivolity. Supply follows close on the heels of demand, and the Lowland towns have their share, and often more than their share of music-halls and cinema-houses. Saturday afternoon amusement is provided by the professional football teams that play through two-thirds of the year. For Sunday, there are the picture-papers and the benches in the sooty park.

Out of this state of affairs rise problems that are common to industrial areas the wide world over, but two are peculiarly acute in the Central Lowlands. The housing of the labouring classes is gradually assuming the first importance among the sociological difficulties of the provinces. It is glaringly obvious to the observer that existing conditions are unbearable, and the better-class working-man, developing as he is in knowledge of his own position, is gradually awakening to the fact that the tenement-dwelling is not the ideal residence for the twentieth-century labourer. Colonies of Englishmen, connected particularly with a Government factory at Greenock and with certain firms that have migrated from Thames to Clyde, have shown him that the separate cottage-dwelling with a patch of garden is the more ideal system for the self-respecting tradesman. But the tendency is modified by various local circumstances. The cottage, to resist northern climatic severity, must needs be strongly built, and the cost, therefore, is greater than in more genial climes. Land in the cramped towns is scarce and the feu-duty frequently excessive. Last, but not least, the supporters of the movement must combat the apathy of a large section of the labouring-classes. Various corporations and town councils have done excellent work in superseding the slum warrens with rational, single houses; but much remains to be done, for, until the problem of scarcity and amenity in housing is well

The Housing Problem.

disposed of, a myriad dependent difficulties must remain unsolved.

One of these, the most distressing of all, is drunkenness. There is little doubt that the notorious excesses of the Lowland Scots are, again, the effects of a natural reaction from conditions on a people of deep passions. The question is a difficult one. Statistics show that drunkenness decreases gradually though consumption is increased, while visual evidence of actual scenes must sadly convince the observer that the Scot has not forsworn the traditional ways. The drinking of whiskey is almost a tradition in Scotland. Scottish song is impregnated with the sentiment of the companionable qualities of drink, and Robert Burns, himself a failure through the curse, prostituted his muse for the glorification of the "Barley Bree." It is to be noted that the influence of vernacular verse is infinitely stronger in Scotland than elsewhere. But that in itself is not a sufficient reason for such a widespread failing. The reformer must dig deeper into the intricacies of causation, and the position is yet far from being satisfactory. The temperance movement is strong in numbers but pathetically weak in effect. Liquor Control seems only the cause of less frequent but more excessive outbursts, and education has failed to bring enlightenment. It is a national misfortune that whiskey, not ale, is the national drink—but here again the reformer bows before the inevitable. Intemperance is doing Scotland grievous harm and, worst of all, there appears to exist no reasonable ground for optimism.

Drunkenness.

The growth of professional football is not so widely dissociated, as it may seem, from the general trend of affairs in the new Scotland. It illustrates, moreover, the attitude to sport of the modern Scot. Football is more or less indigenous to the north, and was once the favourite sport of the nobility and lower classes alike. It has ceased, however, to interest the aristocracy, but remains almost the sole recreation of the poor

Sport—Football.

man who has his rough-and-tumble game in city parks or village commons. As a spectacle it interests the Lowlander still more. The introduction of an association in the 'sixties has assisted the development of professionalism to such an extent that, of the twenty first-class teams constituting the Scottish League, only one is wholly amateur. Every town of any size has its professional team engineered by a limited company, with the result that the great mass of the people, so far from being exponents of the game, are merely the vocal supporters of eleven earners of dividends. The results are unfortunate. However free from corruption professional practice may be, the league games are too facile opportunities for betting and for exhibition of the coarsest side of national character. It may be assumed that one-half of the spectators at the average league encounter have never assumed another *rôle* in the game of football than that of spectator, and, when that is so, sport is deprived of its most valuable influences. The Rugby game is ill-supported in Scotland, for, except on the borders, it makes not the slightest appeal to the working-man. This, perhaps, is accounted for by the fact that the traditional game approximated more nearly to the modern association convention than to the method of the Rugby Union. There is, moreover, no professional element in the northern Rugby teams which are connected almost entirely with the universities and the better-class schools. Cricket shares the same position, though the standard of play is comparatively much lower. County cricket does not exist as a vital form of sport, and the play of the few existing clubs is confined to short Saturday afternoon matches.

Bowls.

Bowls is a game which prospers among those whom middle-age has relegated to the class which inclines to sedentary recreation. In Scotland it is patronised by middle- and lower-classes in town and country, and few communities exist that do not number a green among the attractions. The game

Photo by *Hardie*

CLUB HOUSE OF THE ROYAL AND ANCIENT, ST. ANDREWS

is mildly exciting, sociable and free from any taint of professionalism, and its value as a sedative factor in thickly-populated districts cannot be overlooked. Most corporations are fully alive to this, and the establishment of public greens in the manufacturing towns is a matter for congratulation. It is interesting to note that the game, banned in England by Henry VIII, is again growing in popularity, possibly under the stimulus of immigrants from the north. Curling, the winter counterpart of bowls is another native game, which, though popular in season, suffers much from lack of opportunity.

Golf.

Golf, however, is the game which is considered most characteristically Scottish; but there are grave historical doubts as to the country of its origin. In any case, whether it be of Dutch or Scottish birth, golf has been for five centuries an extremely popular pastime in the north, patronised, at one time, by gentle and simple. Nowadays, it has lost much of its attraction for the working-man—the implements are expensive—and except in the east coast towns where golf is a tradition, it has become almost a perquisite of those in more comfortable circumstances. The popularity of the sport in England and America has made for perfection and, consequently, expense in the matter of courses, greenkeepers, clubs and balls, with the result that the poor man is barred from participation, except in those communities where astute corporations have laid out public courses. This development, moreover, has brought a new industry to many of the old golfing towns where club-making is a considerable and remunerative source of employment; the supply of professionals, too, is guaranteed from among the numerous caddies required on first-class courses. The Fifeshire seaboard, with St. Andrews, capital of the golfing-world, Lundin, Elie, Leven and many other links, is the home of the game, while the coasts of Haddington and Ayr are peculiarly suitable for the laying-out of the best class of course. In

Scotland, as much as abroad, golf grows in popularity and is gradually usurping the rights of other outdoor sports.

The difficulty of passing judgment on the Lowlands of to-day is accentuated by the sharp distinction existing between the simple, traditional life of rural parts and the new artificialism of industrial areas. And it is to be remembered in this connection that industrialism covers a relatively small portion of the country, while agriculture is the concern of most of the broad Lowland counties. But agriculture is not a wholly successful undertaking in the north. The farmer has much to contend with. Two of his greatest handicaps are natural; the scarcity of productive land and the rigour of the climate; one, the most regrettable, is artificial: apathy on the part of many land-owners whose obligation it is to raise the permanent productiveness of the soil and its power of maintaining "a bold peasantry." And that is not being attended to so earnestly as is desirable. Apart, however, from the purely political aspect of the question, the most serious factor is, undoubtedly, the lack of crop-producing lands. Three-quarters of the country is hill-land, suitable for grazing rather than for the culture of vegetables, while the soil of the remaining quarter is not, except in certain districts, of the best quality. With these factors climate combines against the production of all but the hardier cereals, oats and barley.

In the Country.

In other directions, however, the Scottish farmer has learned the lesson of specialisation from his brother of the commercial towns, and, while agriculture as such is not in a flourishing condition, certain other branches of farming have developed into brisk and profitable occupations. The southern hills, from the Cheviots to the Pentlands, are the province of the sheep-farmer whose produce feeds the numerous mills of the Tweed valley. Cheviots are the popular breed hereabouts, mingled occasionally with the Leicester and northern black-faced strains. Dairy-farming is

Specialisation.

the principal concern of Galloway and Ayrshire where the breed of the latter name, though not notably hardy, has proved most successful for this type of rural occupation. Cheese and butter-making centre round the towns of Stranraer, Dunlop and Kilmarnock, and one, at least, of these communities has given its name to a distinct make of cheese. In the upper valley of the Clyde, the breeding of the sturdy Clydesdale horse for heavy draught work is an important interest, while this area, with certain parts of Perthshire and the rich Carse of Gowrie (from Perth to Dundee), is one of the few parts of Scotland in which fruit can be grown with any measure of success. Aberdeen, Kincardine and Forfar are the cattle-breeding—or cattle-fattening—counties, where the squat breed of Aberdeen-Angus supplies a very considerable quota of the meat for southern markets.

It is but the natural law that the country people, unaffected as they are by the swift processes of modern commerce, or the higher education, should remain in a primitive condition, and one might go so far as to postulate that the true Scot, the Scot as evolved peculiarly by his country's history, is now to be found only in these rural parts. Certainly, the son of the northern soil is simple with the unadulterated virtues and vices of his race. If new methods and ideals have influenced the farmer, his employer, the peasant remains a very characteristic Scot, shrewd, thrifty, coarse-grained and deliberate. But the breed is passing. Canada and Australia are calling those who have not been dragged into the industries of the cities. The type is unequivocally valuable to Scotland, but, on the other hand, if agriculture there is to be developed on more scientific, more productive lines, it must needs disappear. The process of change is slow and still far from completion, but by its accomplishment the people of the north must lose much that is good in character and ideals.

CHAPTER IV

THE HIGHLANDS

To the west and to the north of the Grampian mountains stretches a tract of upland country that, even yet, retains much of the mystery in which it was wholly shrouded but a few generations past. By modern standards, the Highlands are unimportant; once they were all-important as a factor in the home and foreign policies of Scotland. But they have fallen from that high estate, and possess only the same glamour as seems to float about an ancient battle-field or any deserted scene of historical drama long played out. For that reason, combined with the grandiose attraction of lofty mountain and dark glen, the Highlands are now but a play-ground, a touring ground, the goal of those in whom Scott or Stevenson or Neil Munro have awakened some elusive desire for a sight of Glencoe or of these dim islands of mystery, the Hebrides.

No excuse need be offered for writing much in the past tense when dealing with the country of the Celts. Historical interest is by far the most trenchant quality of the Highlands, and the industries, the problems, the vital statistics—in so far as they affect the greater modern Scotland—could be dealt with in infinitely less space than is required for the story of clan influence on national history and of the Celtic strain in national temperament. For the Highlands have more to boast of than mountainous grandeur or intangible romance. The Highlanders fought in the Wars of Independence, they complicated national destinies by their attitude towards the civilising House of Hanover, and their ranks have included men, chieftains and serfs, who have wielded as much influence

Of the Past.

as any Lowlanders on matters affecting not only Scotland but also the united country of Britain. They are not altogether the passive people of tradition whose activity and cohesion were swept away by the English cannon at Culloden. If they were disbanded as clans, if they were forced to migrate into the Lowlands or the Colonies, they carried with them a spirit that yielded to that of neither Briton nor Anglo-Saxon. Intact under the clan system they were a great race; scattered in the twentieth century, their native hills barren and desolate, their influence, if diffused, has been a great thing for Scotland.

The Clans.

It is more than strange that Scotland, during the formative or historical period, should have contained two so wholly divergent races as the Celtic Highlanders and the heterogeneous Lowlanders, and that, nevertheless, these racially and sentimentally distinct peoples should have been allies against England and Norman invaders, whatever were their respective attitudes in internal affairs. We have noted that the Celts formed the earliest Kingdom of Scotland, that the Stewart dynasty, indeed, was of Highland origin, and that, gradually but surely, the race was hemmed in among the western mountains by alien colonists who spread east and north from the Lowland settlements. That process completed, the Lowlanders became the ruling caste, and the clans developed a bellicose exclusiveness in their upland fastnesses. The races separated utterly. There was little traffic between them, either political or commercial, and no sympathy except on the one matter of Scotland's integrity. The warlike Highlanders could be counted on to assist in repelling invasion; between times, they were liable to undertake private forays into the richer Lowland country. Two languages were spoken in Scotland, two distinct racial sentiments swayed her destinies, two tracts of territory lay side by side and were yet foreign countries in relation to each other. One is inclined to think that more than human influence held the country together.

But once, in truth, the racial difference failed only by an hairsbreadth to alter the course of history as we know it now. That failure incidentally brought about the disruption of the Highlands as a place apart, and the dispersal and suppression of the clans. It was after the Union of the Crowns, when the politic Lowlanders embraced the cause of Hanover and the sentimental Highlanders that of the young Stewart Pretender. By their espousal of that forlorn hope the clansman signed the death-warrant of their own integrity, for the fiercest valour of the kilted warriors was unavailing against the cannon and grenadiers of Cumberland on Culloden Moor. They were broken men who fled from that field, traitors and outlaws, who were to bow to the authority of a Sassenach King, under the astute compulsion of Lord Advocate Duncan Forbes and the Royalist chief of Clan Campbell, John, Duke of Argyll. From that time, barely 200 years ago, dates our knowledge of the Highlands. The final penetration was accomplished by General Wade, whose military roads led peace, trade and book-learning into the remotest parts of what was, hitherto, *terra incognita*. It was not altogether a peaceful penetration, but it was accomplished one way or another, and revealed a myriad strange things that are interesting both of themselves and as bearing on modern conditions in the Highlands.

The Subduing.

The clan system was by no means peculiar to the Scottish Highlanders, since there were clans of Elliots and Faas on the Borders, and Romany clans wandering throughout these Isles. But the Highland clan was most notable of all by reason of the perfection of its organisation and the fact that it existed well into the times when the remainder of the country had enjoyed the benefits and suffered from the various curses of civilisation. The system, moreover, was favoured by sheer geographical circumstances of glens and moors, mountains and islands. Its origin does not concern us except to note that the tradition of birth was an important factor

Highland Characteristics.

in internecine strife, and that the great clans were distinguished, or supposed to be distinguished, by family idiosyncrasies. Thus, the Frasers were a subtle and not overscrupulous race, the Macdonalds were doughty fighters, and the Macleans were gentlemen born: "I am poor but well-born; thank God I am a Maclean!"; and we remember the pride of race that distinguished R. L. Stevenson's Alan Breck. Each clan was a community in itself, ruled, absolutely, by a hereditary chief, and looking on the sword as arbiter of affairs internal or politics external. It was a military organisation; the Highlander was a gentleman who scorned menial tasks and lived by fighting, foraying and hunting.

The Martial Tradition.

Fighting, it would appear, was the chief occupation—or amusement—of the clans as communities and of the clansmen as individuals. The Highlanders were a warlike people and, more, a quarrelsome people, and very little aggravation was required to send the fiery cross abroad. There was always the opportunity afforded by the lasting feuds, such as those which existed between the Campbells and Macdonalds, or between Camerons and Mackintoshes; and when these failed in interest, the fat country of the Lowlands was convenient for a raid by means of which were acquired cattle, corn, and often wives. They must fight, these Highlanders, for fighting was to them the honourable, the gentlemanly occupation, and raids were not beneath their high notions of dignity. And this tradition inculcated some of the more notorious characteristics of the race. The inherited love of fighting is apparent, even to us who live in the twentieth century; the pride of race is still there—more obvious now, perhaps, than ever before—and the independence is yet stronger than that of Scotland as a whole. It has been a tradition to consider the Highlander as intemperate, thieving and wholly untrustworthy; but these qualities, so far from being accurately defined, are little else than the bogeys which haunted Lowland minds. No Lowlander would have trusted himself alone in the

Highlands, and much less would he trust the Highlander whom he so ludicrously invested with fictitious traits. The clan had its faults. Administratively, it was neither feudal nor tribal; socially, it fostered a sense of comradeship and chivalry that must always distinguish the simple children of the mist.

Social Customs.

In his social capacity the Highlander's customs were in strong contradiction to the coarse habits with which he was credited by tradition. It is true that many of his observances were semi-pagan, especially with regard to marriage and giving in marriage, food and drink, etc., but he had intellectual and spiritual interests of a higher order than the Lowlander of his social class. The *ceilidh*, or fireside gathering, was a very venerable institution in the far north and was the occasion for exercise of the gifts peculiar to the Celtic people. Round the smouldering peat in Highland homes assembled the tale-tellers, the musicians, and the humorists of the community. Here they seemed to cast off the rough garments of their martial lives and revel in the more aesthetic pleasures of folk-tale recitals, of the eloquent rendering of Ossian, and the singing of those ethereally plaintive melodies that are now at the disposal of all interested musicians. Poetry was in the breed and mysticism still more. Their sense of the supernatural raised them far above the barbarian and gave the race that exquisite sensitiveness which, when the blood mingled with that of the Lowlands, doubled the receptiveness and sensibility of the Scottish people at large. They were Christians, even if their Christianity was of a specialised kind, they had peaceful occupations and advanced civil knowledge, and there is a Gaelic literature of astonishing quality and quantity. It would have been a strange quirk of history if a race like this had failed to make its mark on all things with which it came in contact.

Since the far distant days of the '45 and the subsequent exploitation of the Highlands, there have sprung up many

conventional and wholly erroneous beliefs regarding the inhabitants thereof. This external interest was fostered by the poems of Walter Scott—who, by the way, was too purely the Lowlander to be in absolute and appreciative sympathy with the Celt—and was stimulated from time to time by Keltic Renaissances and writers of the "Fiona Macleod" brand. Only too often have the revivifying efforts been planned on false lines; only too easily has British sentiment been stirred by the elusive appeal of "the lone sheiling on the misty isle." And false notions regarding the lives, habits, even the dress of the Highlanders are common. Nor is misapprehension confined to those who dwell south of Scotland, for the Lowlander has not always been precise in his Celtic verisimilitude—a fact amply proven by the frequently inaccurate "local colour" of two writers so great as Scott and Stevenson. These inaccuracies should, one might think, have warned alien writers against trifling with a delicate subject; yet a modern and popular novelist assures us, in his earliest romance, that a piper stalked away from a meeting by the roadside "playing a pibroch"—the last manifestation to be expected from a Highlander, proud of his native art.

These, however, are extreme cases. But it is a matter of accepted fact that there is yet a lingering belief in many quarters that the modern Highlander has not discarded either the dress or practices of his fathers. Unfortunately, the subduing of the Highlands was all too thorough. The visitor of to-day will not find kilted caterans, but small agriculturists in mundane trousers; not "lone sheilings"—though some are left—but modern structures with roofs of corrugated iron; not mountain streams where the wandering angler may ply a careless rod, but salmon-rivers with salmon-ladders, and picketed by notice-boards. So much for appearances: but it would be futile to deny that the romance of history still floats in the glens and about the mountains. The scenery, at least, can

The Modern Highlander.

never be altered, and the native, though clad in twentieth-century raiment, reveals the traits of a great race and a powerful tradition. He will be found a proud man in spite of his poverty; superstitious in spite of the Education Department; lazy, perhaps, because the burden of commerce sits ill on his shoulders, and since he has the traditional leanings to sport in the open air; sensitive, emotional and seemingly cultured almost, in his soft-spoken English. The clan sentiment is far from disappearance, for the Highlander looks up to the chief of his name, albeit that Parliament-made laws have usurped the latter's powers over his following. Even the geographical disposition of the clans is recognisable to-day in Highland districts. Thus Campbell is the name most frequently occurring in central Argyllshire; Camerons swarm in Lochaber, around Fort-William; Macleods abound in Skye and the outer isles; and Ross-shire holds more of Clan Mackenzie than of the bearers of any other patronymic. As indicating Celtic influence in the Lowlands, it is worthy of note that the Campbells outnumber the Smiths in many western towns. And the name of Smith does not rule out the Scotsman's claim to Highland origin, for it is on record that that homely patronymic was adopted by many members of various proscribed clans. Even the old class antagonisms are not quite dead. A Macgregor or a Macdonald can still hate a Hanoverian Campbell, and a Cameron can speak jestingly but meaningly of the two-faced Frasers. Territorial origin is still a significant matter among the Gaels.

The Land Problem.

The Highlander who remains on the land develops slowly, for that land itself is of the unproductive kind that can support only a meagre population, and that in comparative poverty. It is hill-land almost entirely and, like the Alps, serves as an attraction for tourists and sportsmen rather than as the field of thriving native industry. For all practical purposes, the Highlands of to-day are little else than a playground of Britain. The motor-car brought most of the prosperity that

is there, and in the winter season, when the roads no longer hum with the revolutions of high-powered engines, the towns and villages are stagnant, dull and deserted. It is for "the season" that the commercial Highlander lives; the land will yield him little in the way of crops or minerals, and money comes only out of the pockets of the tourists. On a grander scale, the moors and mountains are likewise sacrosanct to the pleasures of the rich. Many of the old estates have passed out of the hands of the hereditary owners into those of alien plutocrats at figures far beyond their practical value. It has become the convention to own or to rent a moor or a river or a loch or a deer forest, where the pleasures of sport are heightened by picturesque environment. The crofter is thus often thrust off his native farm, his sheep removed, perhaps, to make room for deer, and in his place comes an alien who is likely to be more deeply interested in his pheasants than in his tenants, who cannot have any sympathy with Celtic ideals and temperament, and to whom Glencoe or Culloden Moor or any of the oft-contested passes is interesting only in respect of its sporting possibilities. It does nothing to relieve the situation that the patrician sportsmen require ghillies and housemaids in season, or that money is circulated in dependent villages. Deprived of its land or of its right of hiring land, a people is helpless, and it is small matter for wonder that the Highlands are being gradually depopulated and that the natives are wandering from the glens to the Lowlands and the Colonies.

Deer-Forests.

Here, of course, we tread on the fringes of a problem. And it is well to preserve an open mind on the subject by remembering that the north-west country and the isles are primarily unsuited for anything like prosperous exploitation of the land. The reformer can talk glibly of the deer-forest of the rich and offer sweeping suggestions for parcelling them into small holdings; but "deer-forest" is a misnomer so far as the Highlands are concerned. The Black Mount, between the heads of

Glenorchy and Glencoe, is typical. This "forest" is a treeless stretch of mountainous moorland, its lowest level about 1,000 ft. above the sea and rising 3,600 ft. in the peak of Clach Leathad. Heather, the thickest and hardiest heather, covers the spaces not occupied by fallen boulders, and the eastern portion is almost entirely bogland, dotted thickly with shallow, sedgy tarns. Black-faced sheep may find a precarious living on the Black Mount, but not the Board of Agriculture nor all the agitators in Christendom could turn this bleak moor-land—or most other deer-forests—into the lush fields of reforming imaginations. First and last, the Highlands are physically poor; climate and soil are beyond human powers of emendation, and though the standard of productiveness can well be raised, that standard can never be a high one so far as pure agriculture is concerned. England has 4,000,000 acres of waste-land, Ireland 1,500,000, and Scotland, smaller than either of these, has 4,200,000. Some activity more congruous than the raising of crops must be looked for to utilise and populate the blank spaces.

Possibilities of Afforestation.

Much interest has been focused of late on the nation's requirements in the matter of afforestation, and it is in this connection that the sympathetic observer of matters Highland can note more possibilities than ever enhanced schemes more purely agricultural. We find Dr. Hunter pleading thus in his notes to an eighteen-century edition of John Evelyn's *Sylva:* "How many thousand acres of waste land are there in this kingdom that at this present time produce nothing, but may be profitably improved by planting?" and, as regards Scotland, the query is even more pregnant and apposite in 1917 than it was in 1776. The necessity and expediency of planting are beyond discussion; it has been amply proved of recent years that reliance on foreign supplies of timber is something of a blind faith and not altogether advisable for a United Kingdom that includes so many millions of unused acreage. What, then, of the Highlands? Here the lesson

is pressed home with considerable point. In many districts, the local landlord has planted, and these plantings flourish on the soil and in the climate of the Western Highlands. It is true that most of these were formed for purely sporting purposes, that they make no pretence of commercial arrangement, but their success justifies reasonable hope for the possible future of afforestation on a grand scale. A Government experimental forestry at Inverliver, on Loch Awe, and one under the Corporation of Glasgow on their Ardgoil estate have further supported the argument in favour of arboriculture. Again, of course, it is well to take heed of the high mountain and moorland slopes which trees would find no more congenial than would oats and barley. But the tree is a hardy growth that flourishes in seemingly hopeless places. And in the minds of those who know the moist and mild climate of the west, the broad, bare hill-slopes, and the sporadic but lusty plantings, there can exist little doubt concerning the value of afforestation as an aid in dragging the Highlands out of the gaping economic hole.

Kelp-Gathering.

Arising like the question of afforestation out of the nation's immediate needs in time of war, the industry of kelp-gathering has been added to the list of commercial panacea for the north. And, indeed, it would appear a simple matter to lift seaweed from the shore and thence cart it to an eager buyer. Were these the sole activities required of the kelp-gatherer, that occupation would be an infinitely more thriving concern than it is, or even can be, on the Highland littoral. Certain practical conditions, however, must be considered. In the first place, it is not on every shore that sea-weed grows; clear stretches of sand and shingle yield no harvest; and where it is most prolific, there also are the unworkable miles of cliff that abound on the Scottish coast-line. Again, gathering is a seasonal occupation, worth the trouble only during the equinoctial period of storms, and every cart-load of the earlier harvest is required for the fertilisation of the poor

coast-soil. A last and not unimportant circumstance is the shortage of sufficient cartage material among the impoverished small-holders. Twenty tons of kelp yield only one ton of the marketable product, and the raw material must be delivered in a partially dried state. In the end, after deduction of cartage, labour and shipment costs, the profit to the gatherer is very seldom more than 5s. per ton. At 5s. or 10s. per ton, the cash results of kelp-gathering hardly justify the intense labour, hardships and danger involved, or support the claims of those who would proclaim it a possible means of salvation for a poverty-stricken people. It has potentialities, like all ameliorative schemes, but prophetic hopes of its expediency are more than commonly limited by sheer contrary fact.

It is easy enough to advocate afforestation or kelp-gathering as alternative solutions of that industrial stagnation which is aiding so much in the depopulation of a considerable area. But the reformer must go far beyond his optimistic dream of the simple encouragement of one or other of these activities. The facts of the matter lie not altogether in the barren soil of the Highlands, but are also to be found at the roots of the landholding system, in education, and lastly, in the tradition and views of the people. It is well to bear in mind that the Highland Celt, while he is almost shiftless in his own glens, is a vigorous and successful individual under such conditions as reign in other parts of Great Britain and abroad. The personal factor is to be recognised as much as the geographical or physical facts, and the failure of most well-meaning schemes up to date has been largely attributable to Anglo-Saxon misapprehension of the Celtic temperament.

The Sea Fisheries.

The moving ice of the glacial period dealt hardly with the earth-crust of Western Scotland and formed innumerable sea-lochs, narrow, deep and almost landlocked. But these prehistoric formations have proved the most valuable assets to northern economics by acting, in the Lowlands, as great harbours and commercial waterways, and in the Highlands, as havens for the

A WEST HIGHLAND VILLAGE

fishing-fleets that ply on the various firths, sounds, passages and minches. The narrow seas from Cantyre to the Butt of Lewis are the hunting-ground of innumerable fishing-smacks. Some work in great fleets with headquarters at Campbeltown or Skye or Stornaway, but many plough lonely sea-furrows in limited areas within reach of their owners' dwellings. It is a great herring-fishing district this, that in the season attracts boats from the East Coast and from Ireland to compete in the trade with English buyers. The life is hard, the spoils are hopelessly variable in quantity and quality, and the Highland fishermen are far from being prosperous harvesters as those of Aberdeen or Arbroath. Haddocks in the North Sea are constant, it would seem, but the West Coast herring are lamentably fickle. In Loch Fyne twenty years ago, the catch of fish was 56,820 crans (a cran averaging about 750 fish). In 1914 it fell to 991 crans, after a gradual decrease from the spacious days of the century's beginning. The decrease in value equals some £60,000. Fleets have dwindled, their crews have dispersed, and only the ancients of the trade still lounge about the bollards of the quays and hope that "they'll come back." While matters have not come to such a pass in waters further north, a decrease in the prosperity of Western Highland fishing is apparent, for the herring is disappearing and not all the scientists of the Board of Fisheries can say whither. And even though the defection of the fish be only temporary, the hiatus in activity is likely to assist in the disappearance of the old-style fisherman and his simple smack. Like so much that is natural and romantic, they are destined to be brought "up-to-date."

Distilling.

Interminable vistas of conjecture open up before the enquirer into the origin and invention of distilling. Evidence exists to prove that the art was known to the Irish Celts in the twelfth century, and to one, Geber, an Arab, who adorned the scientific world *circa* 800. It is, however, beyond the wit of man to prove reciprocity between the Celts and the isolated

Mohammedan, and one is justified in the conclusion that the Celts discovered the process for themselves and brought it with them in their migration to ancient Dalraida. To this day, whiskey is regarded as a purely Highland product, and for a time it was exclusively so. It was not until the end of the sixteenth century that the insiduous beverage percolated to the Lowlands, ousting ale in popular favour and, more gradually, supplanting brandy and claret in the cellars of the rich. It wrested the honours from the gin that came into use with the accession of William of Orange, and swept away the supremacy of rum among the Glasgow merchants who traded with the West Indies. Finally, like the game of golf, it crept over the passes of the Cheviots and established an undoubted popularity among the inhabitants of ale-drinking England.

Though distilling is certainly a typical Highland industry, there is no justification for considering it a staple. Like the brewing industries of Dublin and Edinburgh, the location is governed largely by the convenience of a copious and pure supply of water, and distilleries are not so widely distributed as to employ any appreciable proportion of the population. It would be difficult to name specific towns—save, perhaps, Campbeltown or Fort-William—where the manufacture of whiskey is a main occupation. In Islay, in certain Perthshire towns, on Speyside, in Skye and other isolated districts, are distilleries to be found, but never in such numbers or with such large production as to raise the industry to the highest economic importance. Lowland cities and towns—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Leith and Kilmarnock—have captured what was once, undoubtedly, a peculiarly Highland trade.

Sporadic Industries.

In all, the mainstays of the native population are those occupations directly connected with the soil and with the sea, but certain modern developments of commerce in the Highlands fall to be noted. It is not many years since the British Aluminium Company, taking advantage of great and inexhaustable water-power, established a factory in the once peaceful

village of Kinlochleven, on the boundary of Argyll and Inverness-shire. The business affords employment for a considerable number of natives, though many of the workers are, necessarily, skilled men from other parts. Some pathetic circumstances attended the opening of these works, which coincided with a period of industrial depression in the Lowlands. How many starving men set out on foot to tread the long, lonely roads to this Klondyke of the north, how many reached the destination and found employment, how many were turned away, and how many lost their lives on the grim pass of the Devil's Staircase, from Glencoe to Lochlevenside —these numbers will never be known. The affair was a little tragedy of industrialism, set in the scenery of pure romance. At the mouth of the same loch, important slate quarries are centred round Ballachulish, while quarrying is also engaged in at Crarae, on Lochfyneside, the Island of Easdale, and other parts. There is little mining of importance, and these few industries mentioned are far from modernising the Highlands. Caithness, Sunderland, Ross, Inverness and Argyll are yet primitive, and must remain so until a volcanic upheaval will level the mountains and throw up the measures of coal and iron that make success in modern times.

Inverness.

Daniel Defoe was a kindly critic of Scotland and had many good things to say of Inverness and the people thereof. He reports that there were "two very good streets in this town, and the people are more polite than in most towns in Scotland. They speak as good English here as in London, and with an English accent; and ever since Oliver Cromwell was here, they are in their manners and dress entirely English"—an eighteenth century view that the Inverness man of to-day is prepared to defend. Another historian, however, dealing with the period following on Culloden, throws a more subdued light on the Sassenach influence: "The English troops committed excesses unusual even in a foreign country, and Provost Hossack, going to remonstrate, is, by tradition, said to have

been kicked downstairs by Cumberland's orders." And one would imagine that, however strong the Cromwellian sentiment, the unfortunate experiences of the worthy Provost and burghers a century later should have obliterated it entirely. But the tradition remains and we are asked to believe that the people of Inverness still converse in an English of surpassing purity. Like many other Scottish beliefs, its universal acceptance is a matter of credulity. The capital of the Highlands is, however, a notable town, built in the best Lowland style and set in a landscape of purely Highland beauty. It has ever been a place of some social prestige—possibly on account of its military associations—but does not scorn the meaner interests of commerce. Distilling, woollen and tweed-manufacturing, and some engineering play a part in the affairs of Inverness. As the eastern terminus of the long Caledonian Canal and a junction of the Highland railway system, it is like most other Highland towns, a great tourist-centre.

Oban.

The nearness of Glasgow has deprived the Western Highlands of any town of real trading importance, but the tourist traffic has encouraged the growth of a town on the Firth of Lorn, better known to the English visitor than the great city by the Clyde. Oban may be described as a seasonal place; it is the "Charing Cross of the Highlands," suited by its geographical position to be the base of operations of the summer visitor. The opening of the railway and the construction of that pier, whence ply the red-funnelled boats of Macbrayne, have changed the town from "a respectable-looking range of whitewashed houses fronting the harbour" to a pretentious conglomeration of hotels—all Great, Grand or Imperial—boarding-houses, villas, and shops where the visitor may purchase tartan, tweed, cairngorms, or green pebbles from Iona. But in spite of some evidences of banality, the situation of Oban is one of peculiar beauty and amenity. It looks over a narrow waterway to the green island of Mull and the

gaunt hills of Morven, that peninsula of romance. In or near the town are objects of much interest: Dunollie Castle, the ancient keep of the MacDougall's, Dunstaffnage, the oft-disputed fortalice at the mouth of Loch Etive, and the Falls of Lora where the outgoing tide from the inlet careers over a lip of projecting rock. Oban commands the waterways of the west and is the natural terminus of all vessels plying through the Sound of Mull to the north, or up Loch Linnhe to the Caledonian Canal. It dates, no doubt, from very ancient times, but for the Highlands, at least, it is thoroughly modern. Its business is to provide accommodation for tourists. Oban is neither primitive nor modern; its self-contradiction is materialised in the ivy-covered castle of Dunollie and the Palladian idiocy of MacCaig's Folly which overlooks the bay.

Gaelic Language.

We cannot leave the Highlands without a word regarding the strange language that is yet the medium of conversation among the people. The Gaelic of Scotland is one of the same family as Erse, and distinct from the Cymric tongues of Wales and Brittany, though there are stubborn authorities to prove that deep grammatical and terminological gulfs yawn between the speeches of Irish and Scottish Celts. Be that as it may, the Gaelic is a passionate, a lyrical tongue, rich in emotional expression and barren of physical terms. It is therefore, suited to a particular type of poignantly descriptive literature. The earlier records were purely oral, but the *Book of Deer*, and the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* are survivals of written chronicle, the first dating from the twelfth century. More recently, lyric poetry in Gaelic has found expression through various minds, from Mary Macleod (d. 1674) to Duncan Ban MacIntyre (d. 1812). Dr. Norman Macleod (1783–1862) was a pioneer of modern Gaelic culture, ably encouraged by the famous Professor John Stuart Blackie. At one time there appeared signs of Scottish Gaelic sharing the fate of the Cornish tongue, but encouragement and improved teaching

of the language are guaranteeing it a very desirable permanency.

It is best to approach the Highlands in a mood of receptiveness and sympathy. For the Highlands are one of the few remaining links that connect the new with the spacious old. In spite of Oban and its tartan shops, in spite of sixty horse-power cars on the roads, in spite of advertisements for tyres pinned to cottage gables, there still lurks in the shadowed glens and about the moorland wildernesses an elusive charm, romantic, pensive, intangible. It is sacrilege to treat the country in the high-handed modern fashion and sheer banality to smile at the simple people. To him who can sympathise, without undue sentimentality, both country and people must prove welcome contradictions of modernism.

CHAPTER V

STATESMEN AND EMPIRE BUILDERS

THE first point one would wish to demonstrate with regard to politics and politicians in the north is that, while Ireland and Scotland are alike in being latter-day allies of England in the great triumvirate of the United Kingdom, there is between them not the faintest political resemblance. Politics are in Ireland an acute consideration—a continual conflict between those who are all for Britain and those who are all for Ireland, between Celt and Saxon. Now Scotland is, generally speaking, a nation of Celts; but there is no strain of thought running athwart the intentions of the larger nation. Scotland is in accord with the south, is politically one with England—or Britain—and the Scots do not run amok in the interests of their nationality. They are as intensely patriotic as the Irish; they are just as capable of parochial prejudices; they can be childishly petulant over the abuse of "England" and "English," or over the right of St. Andrew to a place in the design of the one-pound currency note. But they are not habitually "agin the Government." The distinction is one to be noted.

It is, of course, a matter of history. The Scots were never a conquered race, for they retained independence until royal marriages, cooling passions, and common-sense brought about a Union with England. That Union was for long unpopular. Two serious risings in the Jacobite interest followed within thirty years. But in the end, the common and commercial sense of the Scots came to their aid, and a genuine union of interests was consummated. More gradually, but quite as surely, the political outlook, the imperial outlook, conformed to that of

The Union.

the southern partner. Jacobitism died or was killed out. England offered itself as a sphere for the progressive Scot, the colonies even more, and interests that for centuries had been antagonistic became identical. With the removal of certain representative disabilities, the process was completed. By its consummation the Scots have lost little in national integrity and gained everything in intellectual and material wealth; Great Britain profited by the accession of a people of vigorous and steadfast potentialities.

Domestic Grievances.

It is but inevitable that, from time to time, there arise questions of varying acuteness out of the administration and sentimental interest of Scottish affairs. Real grievances do exist—not at all upsetting or schismatic—but serious enough to bring to the lips of patriots a whisper of Home Rule for Scotland. It is only a whisper, and can never swell to the intensity of a clamorous shout. Nor is Home Rule for Scotland to be interpreted in the Hibernian sense; for the Scottish view concerns itself only with reasonable questions of administration, and is far from being a murderous, racial affair. The settlement will not be one that must take heed of jealousy, or of religion, or of armed opposition; it may be effected by the transportation of archives from an office in Whitehall to a more intimately situated department in Edinburgh, or by the infusion of greater sympathy and breadth into the operations of the Board of Agriculture. The Scots are a pugnacious but not a revolutionary people, and the bellicose tendencies are more than counterbalanced by a deep appreciation of material values.

Liberalism.

It remains, therefore, to consider the attitude of the mass of Scottish people towards the party politics of the present day with which they have voluntarily identified themselves. The truth of the matter is not far to seek and, were contemporary evidence unavailable, history would provide the answer. Scotland revolted against the political domination

of England, against the religious domination of the Roman Catholic Church, against Episcopalianism, and against State patronage of their own Presbyterian Church. In all these conflicts, the mass, the people were successful, and the Scots are democrats by birth and tradition. In modern terminology, they are Radicals. Unionism is almost a lost cause in Scotland; in spite of a powerful Unionist Press, in spite of Conservative landlords, the Scots—though they respect their press and their landlords—remain stubbornly Radical. It is, on the whole, a somewhat old-fashioned creed, a dour, Victorian Liberalism in the Gladstonian sense, but it is firm and ineradicable. In populous, industrial centres, a newer thought makes itself evident. The Lowlands are the home of labour and, therefore, of labour politics, and these areas possess the greatest dynamic voting force of all Scotland. A sign of the times, this, an evidence of the change at work among a people that has passed so swiftly from agriculture to manufacture. The time may not be far off when Scotland no longer will provide safe constituencies for the protagonists of an outworn creed.

Politics and Geography.

Seventy-two constituencies are comprised in the electoral distribution of Scotland, and of these, fifty-seven habitually return Liberal members, two are converted to the Labour belief, and thirteen voted Unionist during the election of 1910. The Labour constituencies are the Blackfriars Division of Glasgow, and the mining district of West Fife. (The latter seat was won on a direct issue between Labour and Liberal platforms.) Four of the thirteen Unionist victories were gained over a split democratic vote—the old, foolish conflict between the young and the middle-aged Liberalism; two were from the University constituencies; two had a frankly agricultural and territorial significance; and the remaining five were clear, unalloyed victories. West Edinburgh, with a large electorate of professional men, Central Glasgow, with a powerful commercial vote—these are the only constituencies that are

" safe " from the Unionist point of view. The Scots are very conservative in their Liberalism. In connection with another aspect of this matter of representation, there occurs a Scottish grievance based again on comparison with the political conditions of Ireland. Scotland's population of 4,761,000, increasing at an average intercensal rate of about 6½ per cent., is represented in Parliament by seventy-two members; the Irish people, numbering 4,390,000, and decreasing at a rate of 1½ per cent., have the power of returning 103 representatives. These figures form a trenchant commentary on the existing system of electoral distribution—a system based apparently on the principle of acreage rather than on that of population. It is but a fair hope that the Commission presently sitting will devise a more equitable redistribution.

Figures of the Past.

It is somehow a verbal inaccuracy to write of a " Scottish statesman " or of a " Scottish politician," when the statesman or politician of to-day must have more than parochial interests and influence to merit the description. The more accurate term would be " statesman of Scottish birth," for the employment of the misnomer rouses memories of purely national leaders who lived in the days when England was not so predominant as a partner—of men like John Knox who, if not a politician in intention, was most movingly so in influence and effect; like Duncan Forbes of Culloden, that Lord Advocate who so effectively stamped out clan intrigue; like the several Marquesses and Dukes of Argyll who played impressive parts in the Reformation and the Hanoverian accession, and of whom some achieved the highest political notoriety on the scaffold. But these names are part and parcel of the Scottish tradition which exists only because the Scots are ultra-sentimental and because other peoples are disposed to humour the sentiment. Scotland, if the truth were told, is now the average, mediocre, political province that produces its share of average, mediocre party-politicians. Some moderns, happily, have achieved such greatness and fame as accrue to the talented mover in

the world of government and diplomacy; and it is of these that we must deal.

Right Hon. A. J. Balfour.

The reputation of Scotland as the undivided home of Liberalism is belied, in some measure, by the fact that the greatest figure on the Unionist benches of the House of Commons was born in Haddingtonshire in 1848. The Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour is a parliamentarian of experience and renown, a philosopher of international reputation, and a public figure of unusual greatness. He is not a typical Scottish product, for his education and the traditions in which he was nurtured were English—so English as Eton, Trinity College, Cambridge, and the family of Cecil to which his mother belonged. Politically, his career opened in 1874 with his election as Conservative member for Hertford, after which he identified himself, for a time, with the renowned Fourth Party of Lord Randolph Churchill. Soon afterwards, these adolescent tendencies were checked, and his appointment to the post of Private Secretary to the Marquis of Salisbury opened a lengthy experience of administrative affairs. Suitably enough, Mr. Balfour attained Cabinet rank with the office of Secretary for Scotland and, three years later, filled the onerous and exciting duties of Chief Secretary for Ireland. Having led the House in 1891–92 as First Lord of the Treasury, he led a strong opposition for three subsequent years, and again resumed the more august leadership, from 1895 till 1906, first as Lord of Treasury and latterly as Prime Minister. The Unionist debacle of 1906 found him again on the front opposition bench until the mantle of leadership fell on the younger shoulders of Mr. Bonar Law. But the long, splendid career was not finished with that. A Coalition Government required his experience as First Lord of the Admiralty and now, in the present party upheaval and at the age of threescore years and ten, Arthur James Balfour is serving the State in harmony with some who were once his most vigorous opponents. This is truly a great career, and—the most fervent critic of the party system

must admit—a useful career. Mr. Balfour is an outstanding figure of mild dominance; he has been the prototype of at least one character in contemporary fiction; he lectures on abstruse theism to very learned societies; he has published six important works on philosophic matters; he plays golf and tennis with skill. Statesman, thinker, and sportsman, he typifies all that is good in the traditional Parliament.

On the Liberal side there is a second philosopher-statesman of long service and political fame. Richard Burton Haldane, first Viscount Haldane of Cloan (b. 1856) has, in the early part of the twentieth century, an indisputable claim to high consideration as the creator of the oft-discussed (and once-reviled) Territorial Force. The most active phase of his political life was that spent at the War Office, when he took a bold line in the matter of Army organisation and equipment, revised the status and training of the auxiliary forces, and created out of the red-coated Volunteers a new body which, if it was ill-trained and ill-equipped, served, so it was proved in August, 1914, a very important function as a Home Defence Army and as the nucleus of a considerable combative reinforcement. The wisdom and foresight of its originator have been proven by events in time of war; the non-existence of a larger general army is not to be laid as a charge against one Minister of War, but against the comfortable outlook of all pre-war politicians. The Territorial Force, with its blemishes and virtues, was Lord Haldane's greatest administrative accomplishment. Since the War Office days, he has occupied the Woolsack, and is now a private member of the House of Lords. Philosophy, no doubt, provides occupation for his active mind. Lord Haldane has been the first scholar in philosophy of the four Scottish Universities, has discharged the learned duties of Gifford Lecturer, and has published several volumes of philosophical criticism, biography and translation.

Lord Haldane.

The importance of personality is proved by the admiration and honour in which Scottish Liberalism holds a nobleman who, for many years past, has not been notably active in affairs political. The popularity of Archibald Philip Primrose, Earl of Rosebery, is wholly personal, that which accrues to a public speaker of remarkable suavity and neatness, to a popular—and Liberal—landowner, to a gentleman with intimate interests in native affairs. His purely political career was neither lengthy nor momentous; it comprised first an Under-Secretaryship to the Home Office, an interlude as Lord Privy Seal, another as Commissioner of Works, and another as Foreign Secretary, and ended—so far as administrative activity is concerned—with a brief service in the highest office of Prime Minister. From that period of the middle 'nineties, Lord Rosebery, to borrow his own oft-quoted expression, has "ploughed a lonely furrow"—politically, and, retired from the Parliamentary stage, has devoted himself to Scottish affairs and politico-biographical literature, with wide acceptance from his northern admirers. This very wide popularity reflects interestingly on the mentality of the Scottish public, and particularly on its capacity for embracing lost political causes; the notion of the "lonely furrow," from which the ploughman may divagate to make graceful speeches on domestic matters or own Derby winners, will appeal more trenchantly in Scotland than the most reformative political career. But it is not altogether on this account that Lord Rosebery has the moral and sentimental support of a people. He is the talented and capable champion of Scottish nationality which, to the Scot, is an affair of infinitely greater moment than a world's politics.

Lord Rosebery.

Mr. A. Bonar Law (b. 1858) has, it is said, repudiated the statement that he is of Scottish birth; and while New Brunswick is admittedly a Canadian birthplace, it is no light matter to dispose thus of Scottish parentage, partly Scottish education, and wholly Scottish business training. He entered Parliament

Mr. Bonar Law.

as Member for the Blackfriars Division of Glasgow, and by his incisiveness as a speaker, his broad capability as a man of affairs, rose to early prominence in the Unionist Party. For four years he was a capable Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, and when the upheaval of 1906 brought him into opposition, he was one of the ablest of Mr. Balfour's lieutenants. The great opportunity came with the domestic split in that opposition and his appointment to the vacant place of leader. A Coalition Government demanded his capable services, and now, in a specialised Cabinet and during a national crisis, Mr. Bonar Law has gained the greatest political fame as a War Chancellor of the Exchequer. It has been almost a meteoric career : a swift rise to power, justified by broad practical abilities and an unusual faculty for succinct, extempore oratory. He is the hope of a young, vigorous and broad-minded Unionism.

The Legal Strain.

An analysis of members of both Houses of Parliament would result, undoubtedly, in a proof of the legislative predilections of the legal profession; and of the many famous statesmen and politicians of Scottish birth, by far the largest proportion has emanated from the Parliament House of Edinburgh. Some have taken a shorter road to Westminster through the English Bar—Lord Haldane, for instance, and Robert Threshie Reid, first Earl of Loreburn, who was successively Solicitor-General for England, Attorney-General, and finally the Chief Law Officer, Lord Chancellor, in 1905. Among the Edinburgh-trained politicians, one of the outstanding names is that of Lord Strathclyde (b. 1853), yet better known by his parliamentary name of Mr. Alexander Ure. His administrative career included service as Solicitor-General and, latterly, Lord-Advocate for Scotland—in which latter office he had a piquant but now forgotten controversy with Mr. Balfour. As Lord President of the Court of Session, his active political career is now past. The second Law Officer of Scotland, Lord Scott Dickson (b. 1850) has served with distinction a similar administrative apprenticeship under

Unionist Governments. One of the outstanding figures among Scottish Unionists is Mr. J. Avon Clyde, an orator of grace and talent, who at present fills the office of Lord-Advocate for his native land. The present Secretary for Scotland, Mr. Robert Munro (b. 1868) is a leader among the younger Scottish Liberals, with the Solicitor-General, Mr. T. B. Morison.

This younger Liberal party from Scotland is a force of growing power. It includes parliamentarians who, under former Governments, were inconspicuous junior members, but have come forward to office and power in the young man's opportunity of a Great War. One of the foremost of these is Mr. James Ian Macpherson, whose active career as a politician dates only from 1911. Since that date he has represented Ross and Cromarty and, with a knowledge quite unusual of Highland matters—the land problem, language, and, as a recreation, literature—was soon an important voice in the counsels of Liberalism. That his views and ability commend themselves to the greatest leaders is demonstrated by his appointment as Under-Secretary for War, at a pass when such offices must be prudently bestowed. The Hon. Neil Primrose (b. 1882), the younger son of Lord Rosebery, gives promise of duplicating the renowned career of his father. Since 1910 he has represented the Wisbech Division of Cambridgeshire, and in these seven years has risen to be Chief Whip for the existing Coalition Government. That post—sufficiently onerous in itself—has recently been relinquished, that this progressive statesman might undertake duties of a still more intimate kind as Chief of the Cabinet Secretariat, a stepping-stone, it would seem, to higher things.

The Younger Liberals.

The long Asquith Ministry was not in power without counting many capable Scots among its numbers. Mr. Harold John Tennant (b. 1865) was for long one of the most valiant henchmen of the veteran Premier, opening his political career as Private Secretary to the Liberal leader. For many years

Mr. H. J. Tennant.

thereafter, he was intimately associated with Home Office committees, and finally succeeded to the Secretaryship of that Department. The first Coalition claimed his services and, through the critical earlier stages of the war, he was a gracious and competent Under-Secretary to the harassed Office. With so many others of his generation, he bade farewell to official life with the first Coalition disruption of 1916. The services of Mr. J. W. Gulland (b. 1864) have been discharged almost entirely in the Whips' Office. Before entering Parliament in 1906, he had had long experience of business and municipal government in his native city of Edinburgh, the value of which was recognised by Mr. Asquith who, in 1909, appointed him Junior Lord of Treasury and Scottish Whip. The exacting duties of that office were faithfully carried out by Mr. Gulland until the end of 1916, when he became Chief Whip to the faithful adherents of the dismembered Liberal Party.

From the ranks of Labour stands out the personality of Mr. Arthur Henderson, who was born at Glasgow in 1863.

Labour Representatives.

The story of his progressive career to eminence is the story of his party's rise from almost hopeless minority to first importance in the deliberations of a twentieth-century Parliament. An apprentice moulder in Newcastle, a Trade Union official, member of Newcastle and later of Darlington Town Council, Mayor, and finally Member of Parliament for the Barnard Castle Division—these were the first steps in his career. Soon his native abilities, manifesting themselves in the affairs of Labour, led to the chairmanship of that growing party, and to a post under the Coalition Government. Thereafter, in a Cabinet of five—reduced to that number as to the essential minimum—Mr. Henderson was not the least important minister, representing the interests of a class that is all-important in war as in peace. It is a sign of the times, an omen of the future. Few political careers have been of such profoundly symbolical significance. Vigorous as this life has been it is

almost paralleled in the case of a second Labour Member, Mr. G. N. Barnes (b. 1859). Mr. Barnes was for many years an active official of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, before winning the Blackfriars Division of Glasgow in 1906. For a time he filled the post of Minister of Pensions in the War Government, and subsequently succeeded to Mr. Henderson's portfolio in the Cabinet. Mr. John Hodge (b. 1855) was a figure of importance in the counsels of Labour before the war, and now represents that vastly potential body in the existing ministry. One notable phase of this War Government's activities is the utilisation of Scotland's commercial-scientific product. These Lowland business-men who have been called south to direct departments of munition production are not politicians; (the word is one that offends in times of stress); but the status of their duties demands recognition here. Their names are legion, and it is sufficient to note the name of a shipowner of experience, Sir Joseph P. Maclay, Controller of Shipping, and Sir William Weir, the head of a great engineering business called into service with the Air Ministry.

The Empire.

We hear much talk in these latter days of Imperialism and the Empire and the Colonies, and while the average man has grown not a little tired of these labels when used as party shibboleths, the importance of the colonial outposts has been most vigorously demonstrated by their practical loyalty since the grim autumn of 1914. In these years there has been a wider understanding and more intimate dealing between them and the Mother Country. Soldiers have travelled thousands of miles to fight in the European cockpit, and accompanying these warriors are their governmental representatives, their Crown Agents, their Prime Ministers, their delegates to Imperial Conferences. New names have achieved familiarity in British ears—and it is no idle claim to state that a very large proportion of these are Scots. The colonising capabilities of the northern race need no vindication here;

this adaptability is one of the chiefest qualities in the people. It develops in various ways: in the sober and prosperous settler, in the energetic and wealthy man of affairs, in the forceful colonial politician. We hear nothing of individuals of the first-class. Of the second, some are world-famous, like Mr. Andrew Carnegie who left Dunfermline at 13, and in Pittsburg, U.S.A., amassed wealth that is positively embarrassing. But he was not an Empire-builder. For the truer type we must consider such men as Donald A. Smith, the late Lord Strathcona. A Highland boy, he left Scotland to enter the romantic service of the Hudson Bay Company and became, in the end, the last Resident Governor of that corporation ere it lost its administrative powers. He was long a member of the Canadian Parliament, and one of the great commercial geniuses who made the rich Canada of to-day. Railways, banks, and many other business corporations were proud to call him Governor and Director; universities capped him continuously; and a long and honourable service ended with a fifteen-year spell of duty as High Commissioner for Canada. Lord Strathcona typified the vigorous Scot abroad.

Australia.

Australia has ever been a favourite goal for the Scottish colonist, and the present High Commissioner for the Commonwealth was once a miner of Crosshouse in Ayrshire. The Right Hon. Andrew Fisher (b. 1862) emigrated to Queensland at the age of 23. Within eight years he was a Labour member of the Queensland Parliament, and has been a prominent member of the Commonwealth Parliament since the inauguration of that body. His first federal post was that of Minister for Trade and Customs; 1908 saw him Prime Minister, a large responsibility which he assumed again, after a brief interval in 1910. It is fitting that the present decisive phase of Imperial relationship should find this able and progressive leader representing the Commonwealth at the hub of affairs in London. The present Governor-General and

Commander-in-Chief of Australia is also a Scot, but of less humble origin. The Right Hon. Sir R. C. Munro-Ferguson (b. 1860) is a land-owner of position, represented the Leith Burghs in Parliament for some twenty-five years, and was a Lord of Treasury under the Rosebery Government. His colonial appointment was popular at home and among the citizens of Australia, over whom he has presided with ability through times of crisis.

Two names on the list of Australasian Agents-General: Sir Peter McBride of Victoria, and Sir J. McFall of Tasmania, very clearly indicate Scottish parentage; both, as it happens, are native-born. There is no room for doubt, however, in the cause of Sir Thomas Mackenzie (b. 1854), High Commissioner for New Zealand, who has bulked large in public records of late as a member, and a dissenting member, of the Dardanelles Commission. His experience of statecraft has been acquired wholly in his adopted country of New Zealand, where he has been a valued member of many commissions concerned with the most intimate functions of the colony. That these services are held in high estimation is demonstrated by the onerous nature of his duties to-day, which are those of the highest office open to the colonial statesman. The name of Mackenzie would appear to indicate a roving and a progressive disposition; it is possessed by a Scottish-born Commissioner of Crown Lands in Victoria, a Minister of Western Australia, the President of a Canadian Northern Railway, and numerous other colonists of distinction in their own lands. A former High Commissioner for Australia, and now a Member of Parliament for St. George's, Hanover Square, was born in Renfrewshire in 1845. Sir George Houston Reid has had lengthy experience of Australian politics, and was successively Prime Minister of New South Wales and Prime Minister of the Commonwealth. He is now returned to the Mother Country, and colonial deliberations at Westminster will profit by the experience of a capable statesman, of whose life nearly forty years were spent in colonial politics.

Diplomacy and rule are at no time easy of successful accomplishment; in dependencies and protectorates with large and potential native populations the administrative task is trebled in regard to responsibility. It may be concluded from these premises that only a man of courage, tact and ability can be chosen to supervise the conduct of affairs in the young protectorate of Egypt. The High Commissioner of Government there to-day is General Sir Francis R. Wingate, who was born at Broadfield, Renfrewshire, in 1861. His connection with Egypt has been lengthy and marked by distinguished service during the vital formative period from the early 'eighties to the present time. A subaltern in the Royal Artillery, Sir Francis served in India and at Aden, joining the Egyptian Army in 1883. With General Sir Evelyn Wood he gained his early Staff experience as A.D.C. and Military Secretary in the Nile and Bayuda Expeditions. Every important campaign thereafter found him serving in some responsible capacity, even down to the Fashoda Expedition, for his part in which he was thanked by both Houses of Parliament. Administrative experience was acquired first on the Red Sea littoral, then in a mission to Somaliland; the military career culminated in his appointment as Sirdar in 1899, and the governmental in his succession to what is, perhaps, the most vital of all High Commissionerships. The highest tribute that can be offered to Sir Francis and his achievement is an acknowledgment of the fact that Egypt has been at internal peace since August, 1914, and that the British trenches are still to the Eastward of the Suez Canal.

Egypt.

Among ambassadors proper, that is, pure diplomatists plenipotentiary in foreign capitals, the greatest Scottish name is undoubtedly that of James, Lord Bryce, O.M. (b. 1838), who represented this country at Washington for some seven years. A distinguished graduate of Glasgow and Oxford, he entered Parliament in 1880, was successively Under-Secretary for

Lord Bryce.

Foreign Affairs, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, President of the Board of Trade, and in 1905-1906, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and from that delicate office, crossed the Atlantic in 1907. Lord Bryce's last departmental duty has been the investigation of German Atrocities which resulted in the publication of the historical Report. Honours—royal, civil, and learned—have been lavished on this statesman whose life-work has been so valuable and whose old-age has not affected his capacity for service in a time of national anxiety.

The Military Tradition.

Chapters could be written round the tradition of soldiering among the Scottish people, and volumes round Scottish generals who have fought to win for us an Empire so vast. There are grand, romantic stories of formations like the Scots Brigade that was the *corps d'élite* of Gustavus Adolphus, or the *Garde Écossaise* that protected the kings of France for centuries after the days of the Auld Alliance; there is brave reading in the life stories of leaders like John Moore of Corunna or Colin Campbell, Lord Clyde, who stamped out the Mutiny in India. But these are old stories, and happily enough—happily, because the fact vindicates a Scotland that often seems decadent—there is a sufficiency of contemporary greatness in the Scots who are even now pitted against the German enemy. The Commander-in-Chief himself is to be considered here. Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig was born in Fifeshire in 1861. At the age of 24 he was gazetted to the 7th Hussars, passed through the Staff College, and served through the Soudan campaign in 1898, being present at the decisive actions of Atbara and Khartoum. In the South African War, we find him first as a Cavalry Staff Officer and then Chief of Staff to General (now Field-Marshal) Lord French. Through the elusive strategy of the last years, he commanded a group of the notorious mobile columns and, the hostilities over, proceeded to India as Inspector-General of Cavalry. In 1906 he was Director of Military Training, in

1907 Director of Staff Duties, in 1909 Chief of Staff in India, and in 1911 General Officer Commanding at Aldershot. Then came the Great War; and, in the Expeditionary Force, General Haig was entrusted with the First Army Corps that battled from Mons back to the gates of Paris, forward again to the Aisne, and, after a readjustment of the line, on from St. Omer to the Salient of Ypres. The story is too new to be repeated, too new to be adequately retold. And the Commander of that Corps now controls an army of millions. Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig was trained as what the critics of old wars called a "Cavalry Commander"; the battles of France have proved that this vigorous, watchful "Iron Haig" is a great commander of modern armies.

Famous Leaders.

There are those who would claim the popular Chief of Staff for Scotland, but, while the surname of Sir William Robertson indicates a Highland origin, it is difficult to pass over the proud claims of his native shire of Lincoln. And even without his distinguished name, Scotland's Roll of Honour is as lengthy as the most egregious patriot could desire. He may, for instance, point to the name of Lieutenant-General Sir David Henderson who controls an Army Department that is now of the supremest importance in the conduct of a modern war. His service was all with the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, until the development of aircraft brought him into prominence as one who foresaw the military possibilities of that arm. Appointment as Chief of the Royal Flying Corps followed soon, and how vigorously and earnestly he conducted that starved and overlooked arm was demonstrated when, at the outset of operations in Flanders, the British air service—under-equipped, undermanned—was able to cope with the specialised enemy machines and pilots. General Sir Ian Hamilton (b. 1853) has behind him a long and distinguished career, starting with the Afghan War of 1878. He has fought in Egypt, India, and with high honour in South Africa. For a time he was Adjutant-General to the Forces,

and then General Officer Commanding-in-Chief in the Mediterranean, a post which gave him command of the sorrowful Gallipoli campaign. It was an unsuccessful campaign; it cannot be explained away or its initial conduct wholly justified; but this is to be remembered in justice to the Commander of a forlorn hope: that without men, guns, ammunition, and adequate material, no war can be waged successfully against a brave enemy fighting with the geographical advantage in his own country.

One figure that has bulked large in the eyes of people at home, and in connection with sensational affairs at home, is

Sir John Maxwell.

General Sir John Maxwell (b. 1859). He is almost peculiarly an Egyptian General, this famous soldier, having opened his military career there as a Black Watch subaltern in 1882, and continued it through Tel-el-Kebir, the Nile Expedition, and various frontier troubles. Mentioned in dispatches for services at Dongola, he commanded an Egyptian Brigade at Omdurman, and a British Infantry Brigade in South Africa. Fortunately for the peace of Egypt, General Maxwell was Commander-in-Chief there at the outbreak of war, and was Sir Francis Wingate's right hand in pacifying a nervous population. Even so fortunately for Ireland, he was on leave in London during that Easter week when Sinn Fein set about the conquest of Dublin. A soldier with the vigorous mind was required, and Sir John Maxwell was dispatched. The rebellion survived his arrival by some four or five days. Egypt would appear the training-ground of soldiers of deep conviction and decisive action; General Maxwell is a great representative of the tradition.

Home commands are heavy responsibilities in time of war, and none more so than that of Aldershot, presently held by

Sir Archibald Hunter.

General Sir Archibald Hunter (b. 1856). Behind him is a long record of service, principally in Egypt, where he served first under Sir Francis Grenfell, being wounded twice, at the battles of

Giniss and Toski respectively, and became a Major-General on Special Service, then Governor of Dongola, Governor of Omdurman, proceeding later to India, where he commanded a first-class district. In South Africa he was required on the Staff, and commanded the 10th Division through its heaviest engagements. With peace came appointment to the Scottish Command, then to India as Commander of the Western Army Corps, then to the Southern Army of India, and then to Gibraltar as Governor. In the European War, General Hunter has been at Aldershot, doing the highest service to the country in supervising the final training of millions of the New Army soldiers. Lieutenant-General E. C. Bethune (b. 1855) occupies a post that, in the dark days of public ignorance of affairs military, appeared to the man-in-the-street as a sinecure, but which is now recognised as one carrying the gravest responsibilities. General Bethune served first with the Gordons, exchanged to the Dragoon Guards, and served with distinction in Afghanistan and South Africa. In 1905, he took command of the West Lancashire Territorial Division, and is now in full control of the Territorial Force. The Territorials have justified their existence—in France, Gallipoli, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India—and it is to their vigorous Director-General that the country must acknowledge a rare service in training and equipping them for the task so well performed.

CHAPTER VI

PROSE-WRITERS FROM SCOTT

Is there a modern Scottish literature? Or have the writings of Scotsmen during the last century been merged utterly into the broad generalisation of English literature? The answers to these questions cannot be given off-hand. Before the golden age of the eighteenth century there certainly had been formed a truly national, a truly exclusive literature, chiefly by the historical and metaphysical works of the characteristic northern philosophers. Similarly, Scottish poetry was—and is, for that matter—exclusively provincial. But then came Smollett and Boswell and, greatest of all, Scott. The Union of the Crowns at the century's beginning brought Scotland into closer touch with England; the ferment that culminated in the French Revolution permeated to the north and appealed peculiarly to the native regard for intellectual freedom; and the results were a broader outlook, a wider sympathy, and a great literary output that formed the basis of, not Scottish literature, but the Scottish School of literature. In the line of pure thought, the great Scotsmen of this period were philosophic scientists, Hume and Adam. But their sphere was technical and controversial, and their works can be more adequately dealt with under the heading of science. The pure intellectuals must yield pride of place to those others whose names and works are more familiar to the lover of books, and whose examples have influenced more profoundly modern literary forms.

Scott was the writer who initiated what may be termed the modern phase of Scottish literature; he was the great, significant figure, the towering landmark. But two names stand out in the opening years of the revival in letters. These are Tobias Smollett and James Boswell. Smollett (1721–1771)

Boswell and Smollett.

is remembered as the author of *Roderick Random* and other novels. His work, to modern minds, abounds in coarseness; but he wrote of his times for the people of his times, and the value of his work is to be assessed from the fact that, with Richardson and Fielding, he was a pioneer novelist, working in what was then a new form. His works are the lineal ancestors of the vernacular fiction now termed " Kailyaird." Boswell, of course, was the faithful follower and biographer of Dr. Johnson. It is an interesting thought that moderns know more of the great lexicographer's personality and habits than of his writings; the Life has an appeal beyond that of *Rasselas* or *The Lives of the Poets*. " Johnson grown old," wrote Macaulay, " is better known to us than any other man in history ——" and the Ayrshire laird was the man who made this possible.

Sir Walter Scott.

The year of Smollett's death ushered in a transcendant successor, destined to shine more brightly among the immortals. This was Sir Walter Scott, poet, novelist and biographer, one whose influence on international literature, as much as on that which is peculiarly Scottish, demands the closest study, and whose life—so closely bound up, as it was, with his work—is a lesson in broad humanity. A son of a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, he was born there on the 15th August, 1771. He was a delicate child and suffered, throughout his life, from lameness and general weakness of constitution produced by an infantile fever. At an early age, he was already distinguished as a teller of tales and by a passion for reading, principally in the literature affecting Scotland of the past. In 1792, Scott was called to the bar, where his skill in narrative outshone his forensic abilities; five years later he married Charlotte Margaret Carpentier, a Frenchwoman, the daughter of an *emigré*. His first works in literature followed his appointment as Sheriff-Substitute of Selkirkshire in 1799. From here, in the heart of his beloved Borders, were issued the *Border Minstrelsy*, and his first poem

The Lay of the Last Minstrel, a work which swiftly established his reputation as "the new poet."

In 1806, the critical phase of his life and work was opened with his appointment to a post in the Court of Session at Edinburgh. At the same time he joined partnership in the printing house of James Ballantyne, and in the publishing firm of John Ballantyne. By this time his poetical reputation had been overshadowed by the brighter genius of Byron, yet, in 1813, he declined the offered post of Poet Laureate. His hour of real greatness was yet to come. The first historical novel, *Waverley*, was published anonymously in 1814, and achieved instant and complete success, not only in this country but on the Continent. Walter Scott had found his *métier*.

This tale was the first of that great series we know to-day as the Waverley Novels. Year after year, often twice in twelve months, the Ballantyne press produced these anonymous works so eagerly anticipated by an ever-increasing, more and more cosmopolitan public. The sheer hard work involved was prodigious; yet Scott contrived somehow to produce the massive works and, at the same time, satisfy his foible for playing the country gentleman at Abbotsford, where he "did the honours for all Scotland," entertaining his powerful admirers. He was created a baronet in 1820, and his cup of success and happiness seemed full. But the most calamitous event of his life was still to usher in one of the most inspiring stories of a literary career. In 1826, the printing and publishing houses of Ballantyne failed; and at the age of 55, Sir Walter Scott was saddled with liabilities amounting to £117,000. This disaster might well have broken the spirit of any man, but not so with "the Shirra'." He refused the many offers of assistance, scorned to make a composition with his creditors, and set out, so late in life, to pay his debts. Within two years he had paid £40,000 to his creditors, in four years £70,000; after his death—which was hastened by the tremendous effort—his representatives were able to annul

his entire obligations from the proceeds of his novels. He passed away at Abbotsford in September, 1832. "No Scotsman of his time," wrote Carlyle, "was more entirely Scotch than W. Scott; the good and the not so good, which all Scotsmen inherit, ran through every fibre of him."

The work accomplished by this great man, considering the circumstances under which it was produced, is truly wonderful in quantity and quality. His prose works, with their wide range of subject matter, the variety of treatment and their strong sanity, have given him rank as, possibly, the greatest writer since Shakespeare. The quality of his writings, it is true, is variable; often it is dull, prosy, slipshod; but through it all glows his great, generous common sense, his manly vigour and his sweeping imagination. And we must bear in mind that *Guy Mannering*, one of his best works, was written in six weeks, and written for a noble purpose. Scott's influence on literature, down to this twentieth century, has been incalculable; it is, indeed, beyond discussion. He typified more than any other Scotsman the truer greatness of his country.

John Galt.

While the robust genius of Scott was attracting every attention of the literary world of his day, a small group of Scottish writers was winning fame in a less wide sphere. The first of these was John Galt, the novelist whose interpretations of Scottish life formed, with Smollett's work, an early model for the later "Kailyaird" school. He wrote sixty books, most of them forgotten now. His biographical works are unread; his historical novels—*Ringan Gilhaize, The Omen,* etc.—have won him little fame; it is on the homelier works, the *Ayrshire Legatees, Sir Andrew Wylie, The Entail* and *The Annals of the Parish*—the last particularly—that his reputation rests. The *Annals* is a humanly sympathetic and simple record of a minister's life in an Ayrshire parish. Galt's talent and vigour are indisputable; only the diffusion of his energies robbed him of a higher fame.

John Wilson (1785–1854), better known as "Christopher North," was born to fortune, lost it in early life, and found an opportunity in *Blackwood's Magazine*, then a new periodical. To its columns he contributed critical articles on everyday topics, on literature, on philosophy, and on politics, which, collected under the title of *Noctes Ambrosianae*, founded his claim to immortality. His earlier and longer poems, *The Isle of Palms* and *The City of the Plague*, have not survived, and the same can be said of his two undistinguished novels: *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life* and *The Trials of Margaret Lyndsay*. Wilson was a vigorous character in the literary life of his day; his sympathies were wide, he had humour, high spirits and the faculty of lucid expression of these characteristics. He is, perhaps, most interesting as the historian of a notable literary era. The fame of a contemporary, Michael Scott (1789–1835), rests on two novels: *Tom Cringle's Log* and *The Cruise of the "Midge."* They appeared first in *Blackwood's Magazine* and remain popular to this day. Their chief virtues are swift action and an attractive brightness.

John Wilson.

John Gibson Lockhart (1794–1854) was one of the famous Blackwood group with Wilson and Hogg, the poet. His earlier works were *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*, which comprised sketches of contemporary life in Edinburgh, four novels, none of which has retained popularity, and a *Life of Burns*. In 1820, he married a daughter of Sir Walter Scott and formed a close friendship with his father-in-law. The result was the famous *Life of Scott* by which Lockhart is chiefly remembered. Like Boswell's *Johnson*, it is one of the very great standard biographies.

J. G. Lockhart.

One of the strangest figures in literature, one of Scotland's greatest intellectuals, a man whose influence has affected national thought more than we can ever know, was born at Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, in 1795. This was Thomas Carlyle, known to a later generation as the Seer of Cheyne Row. His

Thomas Carlyle.

father was a stonemason of a typically thoughtful Scottish type, his mother a simple, good woman of country stock. The parish schoolmaster gave him the beginnings of knowledge; at Annan Grammar School he studied more broadly and, in 1809, he walked the ninety miles to Edinburgh to enter the University. His speciality was mathematics, but he aimed at the ministry. Midway in his theological course, he gave up the idea and returned to Annan as a teacher. A second appointment at Kirkcaldy brought him into contact with that whirlwind theologian, Edward Irving—an intimacy which, no doubt, first brought about these introspective struggles so characteristic of the man. Returning to Edinburgh, he made the stimulating acquaintance of Jeffrey, the first editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, and to this periodical Carlyle contributed some of his best essays. His marriage with Jane Welsh brought him sufficient material welfare to justify a return to Dumfriesshire. Here he wrote his first great philosophical work, *Sartor Resartus*, which in 1831, he took with him to London on an unsuccessful search for a publisher; three years later he, with his wife, settled finally in Cheyne Row. From there were issued his best works; the brilliantly original *French Revolution*, *Chartism*, *Past and Present*, and, which was possibly his greatest work, *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*. *Heroes* and other works were, in the first place, delivered as lectures. His largest work, *Frederick the Great*, occupied fourteen years of his life.

In the fullest sense of the term, Carlyle was an extraordinary man. His individual, rugged style, his bold thought, tempered by humour and appreciative insight, his sense of poetry and imagination, and his great capacity for " righteous indignation " combine to make his greatness unique. In all his writings the influence of German philosophy is strong. Carlyle admired the German thought, and the Germans of his day paid tribute to Carlyle. But he was too original, too individualistic to be labelled as belonging to any foreign

school. The words he applied to Scott might, equally well, be spoken of himself. He was peculiarly national, peculiarly Scottish.

Alexander Smith.

There belongs to this period the name of one essayist and poet whose short life was productive of work that is worthy of more than the passing notice which it commonly receives. Alexander Smith (1830–1867) was essentially the poet, whether he wrote in the metrical or the prose form. His early poetic work earned him comparison with Keats, with Tennyson, with Byron; some contemporaries declared his superiority to those masters; but it is clearly as the essayist of *A Summer in Skye* and *Dreamthorp* that he was outstanding. In the first there is the perfect literary creation of the spirit of scenery, and in the second there is the subtlest interpretation of historical association as gathered in a Scottish country place. In both—in all his prose works, indeed—are models of style, most elusive of all literary attributes.

Some Contemporaries.

While Carlyle dominated the intellectual circles of his time, a group of lesser writers was at work in a more restricted sphere. Two brothers, Robert and William Chambers, had started business as booksellers and, later, as publishers in Edinburgh. The historical work of Robert Chambers (1802–1871) is of considerable importance particularly as affecting Scotland; but the lasting value of their combined efforts lies in their pioneer work as publishers of cheap literature. *Chambers' Journal* has been the home of sound writing for generations, and its scope has had more than superficial influence on the intellectual development of the less cultured classes in Scotland. Dr. John Brown, physician first and only secondarily essayist, is remembered as the author of that canine classic, *Rab and his Friends*. He was not a prolific writer; but he was an invariably good and charming writer. He had humour, tenderness and insight, and might well be described as the Charles Lamb of Scotland. His serene temperament endeared

him to the literary men of his day and, though his influence is limited, his memory stands out as that of a gentle and a fastidious writer. David Masson's work as biographer, historian and Professor of English Literature at Edinburgh University has reacted considerably on the trend of modern writing. His greatest biographical achievement is the six-volume *Life of John Milton*, but it is for his sagacious criticism and sane guidance in letters that his name is most justly honoured.

Towards Realism.

During this middle period, the tendency was growing towards realism and the more modern standards, which were not, however, fully developed till the particularly bright star of Stevenson's genius flashed across the firmament of letters. The transition stage is typified in the work of four minor authors: George Macdonald of *David Elginbrod* and *Sir Gibbie*, Robert Buchanan, the uncompromising critic of the Rossetti school, Whyte-Melville, the sporting novelist, and Robert Michael Ballantyne who deserves our gratitude if only as the author of the classics of our boyhood. The work of this group is, if undistinguished in the larger sense, sufficiently healthy—excepting always Buchanan's tendency to virulence in criticism and the anti-Christian attitude of his later poems—and is interesting as illustrative of the parting of the ways, the contest of the old and the new. It may be said, also, that theirs was the period during which Scottish literature ceased definitely to be a thing apart from English literature. Scott, though international in appeal, was ever the Scotsman. Can the same be said of Stevenson? David Balfour is a Scot, and his uncle's house is in the Lothians, but the *Sieur de Maletroit* is Gallic to the core and the Beach of Falésa is on a Pacific islet; *Portraits by Raeburn* is Scottish if you will, but *An Inland Voyage* is wholly British. The provincial element was disappearing; the quintessence of "Kailyaird" sentiment is less Scottish than *Old Mortality*.

With the advent of Stevenson the old order gave place to the new. Robert Louis Stevenson was born at Edinburgh in 1850. He was the only son of Thomas Stevenson, one of a distinguished family of civil engineers. Like so many other great writers, Stevenson was a delicate child, like so many of his predecessors in literature he was called to the Scottish Bar but never practised. His early taste for letters was stimulated by his devoted nurse, Alison Cunningham, whose taste and sense—as he himself consistently acknowledged—guided him in the narrow path of good reading. His earliest writings were contributed to the *Edinburgh University Magazine*, but it was not until his twenty-eighth year that *An Inland Voyage* and *The New Arabian Nights* were published. In 1879 he journeyed to America—an adventure to which we owe *Silverado Squatters*—returning the following year to embark on a long period of productiveness. The early works of Stevenson had not achieved any substantial measure of popularity, but with the publication of *Treasure Island* in 1882, the reading public was captivated. Of his work on this glowing tale of adventure, Stevenson wrote to the late W. E. Henley: " It's awful fun, boys' stories; you just indulge the pleasure of your heart; no trouble, no strain." The success of *Treasure Island* was followed by *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, Kidnapped, The Merry Men* and *Black Arrow*. But the climate of our northern latitudes was too rigorous for Stevenson's delicate constitution; in 1890, after a stay in America, he emigrated with his wife and a large establishment of relatives to Samoa, where, in the four years preceding his death, he wrote *Across the Plains, Island Nights Entertainment* and *Catriona*, and collaborated in *The Wrecker* and *The Ebb Tide*. In 1894 he died in Samoa, leaving the fragments of *St. Ives* and—what was, undoubtedly, a masterpiece—*Weir of Hermiston.*

Robert Louis Stevenson.

It is early, even now, a quarter of a century after his death, to assess Stevenson's work at its true value. As a craftsman,

he is unrivalled. No writer had a finer sense of words than he, no style is so various, so charmingly personal, so attractive as his; and this very virtue makes for difficulty in weighing the value of the matter below. In his passion for moralising and sermonising he was essentially Scottish; but in these earlier essays can be detected a trace of self-consciousness, of immature omniscience. They were never deeply philosophic and, as one critic has pointed out, they typify "the triumph of manner over matter"; the essays, graceful and delightful though they be, are—as the title of one volume indicates—little more than sparkling treatises on lay morality. His greatest work was done in fields of fiction, his strongest influence is exercised by his classics in this genre. He followed the Scott tradition, modifying it, adding grace by the play of his own talents. Stevenson was ever the boy. He delighted in the joyous or tragic adventures of his heroes, he revelled in the atmosphere of the ages he wrote of, and, to crown these virtues, his wide vocabulary and his unique powers of applying it made his treatment ever in keeping. So, on his own lines, he was a great writer even if he lacked the depth of a Meredith or the sonority of a Scott. And, considering that he was not of the very greatest, Stevenson's influence has been surprisingly powerful. Examination of most modern works of the romantic school reveals, everywhere, traces of the Stevensonian strain. From him sprang the cult of the open road and knapsacked wayfarer; his example is a perennial stimulus to the young writer, the stylistic aspirant. He initiated a literary manner that dies hard.

Andrew Lang.

In a different vein, less creative artist than cultured man of letters, Andrew Lang was a notable contemporary of Stevenson. His earlier work was in poetry, but he drifted soon into the realms of history and criticism which were to be the principal sphere of his activities. *Books and Bookmen* was published in 1886, to be followed thereafter by works of criticism covering a wide range, and of history, principally Scottish. His

History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation, though not always severely accurate, is a work of the first importance; inasmuch as it is literature of the highest quality and covers much ground that is novel. Lang was always attracted by the mysterious in history, a foible to which we owe much painstaking work on the mystery of Mary Stuart, the Appin Murder and many other shadowed corners of the Scottish historical landscape. The prose translation of the Odyssey (with Professor Butcher) is one of the most delightful settings in the English language of the epic of Ulysses. An attractive off-shoot of Lang's activities are the Fairy Books, red, green, yellow, blue and the rest, in which he collaborated with his wife to delight imaginative children for all time. His other collaborations, in fiction with Mr. Eden Phillpotts, fell short of success; his genius was not in narrative. He was always a cultured writer, always delightful, and of the greatest in a time when criticism, as such, had become an important side of the writer's art.

William Black.

William Black (1841–1898) is remembered with affection as the author of many healthy, if not highly distinguished novels. He started life as an art student, took to journalism and migrated to London where he published his first novel, *James Merle*, a work which failed signally to set the Thames afire. After acting as a correspondent during the Austro-Prussian War of '66, he turned again to fiction and achieved immediate popularity with *A Daughter of Heth*. Thereafter, he was the stand-by of a large public for whom William Black was the chosen story-teller. His best work is in *A Princess of Thule*, but *Macleod of Dare*, *Shandon Bells* and *Judith Shakespeare* are all characteristic of his style. By modern standards, his manner is decidedly middle-aged, decidedly Victorian, but it was always healthy—a rare quality. His artistic leanings drove him, if anything, to over-elaboration and word-painting; Black was a specialist in sunsets and West Highland scenery. He was one of the literary group that

boasted the paternal James Payn as guide, philosopher and friend.

Of another stamp was William Sharp (1856–1905), a writer who can hardly be forgiven the facile deception he practised and the false atmosphere he created. In the first place, Sharp was a novelist and critic who, no doubt, found the profession of letters trying and unremunerative, till an opportunity came with the so-called Keltic Renaissance of the 'nineties. A series of extraordinary tales, heavily charged with "atmosphere," appeared in various periodicals over the signature of "Fiona Macleod." This lady, it seemed, was a relative of Sharp's, a touching figure of mysticism, old-age and delicate health, for whom Sharp acted as agent. Naturally enough, the tales created a sensation among a reading public that knew no better; but to qualified critics it was patent that *Pharais, The Washer of the Ford*, and a host of kindred works were little more than clever journalistic productions, compiled—very inaccurately—with the aid of a Gaelic phrase-book. The topography, the use of the language, and the atmosphere were alike false, but they succeeded in gulling an impressionable public. Though charged frequently with the authorship of the "Fiona Macleod" tales, Sharp stoutly denied the impeachment, till his death, in 1905, revealed the truth. Even yet he is hailed as "one of the earliest and most gifted promoters of the Celtic revival," a statement which may contain a germ of truth; but it would seem that an interest awakened by false work is wholly negligible.

William Sharp.

It was in this decade that the "Kailyaird" school came into prominence. Definition of the term is not easy. It may be described as vernacular fiction, closely descriptive of the life and manners of the Scottish peasantry and heavily laden with the sicklier atmosphere of Scottish sentiment. It originated really with Barrie, but his genius led the way, providing the great models for less gifted and more

"Kailyaird."

characteristic writers of the "Kailyaird" school; it is too great to be classed with such a provincial cult. The most notorious exponents were John Watson ("Ian Maclaren") and Samuel Rutherford Crockett, both ministers of the Presbyterian Church. The former, born in 1850, was responsible for two works of a very decided type, *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush* and *The Days of Auld Lang Syne*, which had considerable popularity in this country and America. It cannot be said that that success is due to any innate virtues of the books themselves, but rather to the craze initiated by Barrie's writings of real genius. They are sufficiently pleasant, faintly humorous and otherwise of no great account. *Young Barbarians* is a popular tale of boys' pranks. Crockett was possibly a greater writer, though he never fulfilled the early promise of *The Raiders*. His more purely "Kailyaird" stories are *The Stickit Minister*, *The Lilac Sunbonnet* and *Love Idylls*. But he had a better and stronger vein in historical romances where he followed the Stevensonian tradition. *The Raiders* and *Men of the Moss Hags* are sound and have a certain distinction, but the later works, produced with unfailing regularity, are less notable. Mr. J. J. Bell has attained considerable local popularity with *Wee Macgreegor* and other sketches of the vernacular type. The fashion has given birth to other numerous and wholly undistinguished productions.

George Douglas Brown.

The antidote to the somewhat saccharine efforts of the "Kailyaird" novelists is to be found in the work of a young author who did not long outlive his only book. George Douglas Brown (1869–1902) wrote *The House with the Green Shutters*, a powerful work which made a deep impression. It is a strongly-etched study of commercial life in a small Lowland town, describing unmercifully the baser and meaner traits of Scottish character, and working, through that medium, to a climax of tragedy. It cannot be said that Brown's virulent representation of Scottish life is by any means just.

Sir James Matthew Barrie is one of the greatest figures in Scottish literature, and in the literature of the united nation.

Sir James Barrie.

Born at Kirriemuir in 1860, graduating at Edinburgh University, then leader-writer in a Nottingham journal, he published in 1888, his first book, *When a Man's Single.* This tale of journalistic life intimated to discerning critics that a new humorist and writer of genius was in the field. *Auld Licht Idylls* and *A Window in Thrums,* following closely on the first novel, confirmed the opinion. It was these books, and particularly the first, that provided the great example to a host of imitators. But Barrie's name could never be dragged down into the rut of their mediocrity ; his touch was too sure for that, his humour and insight too swift and—he was an artist. Then followed success after success: *My Lady Nicotine,* that epic of bachelordom, *Sentimental Tommy* (said to be founded, as to the character of the principal figure, on R. L. Stevenson), and that tenderest of portraits, *Margaret Ogilvy.* Read what Stevenson himself wrote of Barrie to the late Henry James, December, 1892: " But Barrie is a beauty, the *Little Minister* and the *Window in Thrums,* eh ? Stuff in that young man. . . Genius in him, but there's a journalist at his elbow—there is the risk ! Look, what a page is the glove business in the *Window* ! Knocks a man flat; that's guts, if you please. . ." Well, Stevenson's apprehension of the attendant " journalist " has proved to be unfounded. Barrie is a novelist of the first rank, a creative genius, a deeply sympathetic artist; the journalist helped not at all in the creation of his books. If he has—or had, for the novel-writing days are over—if he had a fault it was in the tendency to be " too funny," too broadly the caricaturist. And this very tendency was misconstrued by his imitators of the " Kailyaird." Only the humanity and sanity of Barrie kept him on the higher plane; lacking genius, the vernacular novel falls to flatness. But Barrie had the genius.

While William Sharp's pseudo-Celtic productions were

attracting a very large share of public attention, an infinitely greater writer, a Celt by birth, was writing real Celtic tales.

Neil Munro.

Neil Munro, born at Inveraray in 1864, was this author whose first book, a collection of stories, was published in 1896 as *The Lost Pibroch*. At once they attracted the attention of such *cognoscenti* as Andrew Lang and W. E. Henley, who realised that the work of this unknown author had the genuine sentiment of the Highlands and was, moreover, the work of an artist, a man of genius. It was followed, two years later, by *John Splendid*, a romance of Highland campaigning, stamped with the undeniable individuality of the earlier tales, and by *Gilian the Dreamer*, *Doom Castle*, *The Shoes of Fortune* and *Children of Tempest*. The importance of these books—quite apart from any question of Celtic revival—cannot be overestimated. Some of them, notably *John Splendid* and *The Shoes of a Fortune*, are frankly in the Stevensonian vein, but as regards sentiment, atmosphere, and, even language, they are different as romances can be; they prove, as no other works have, that the Highlands are a region apart, divorced from the bulk of Scotland in every temperamental and material respect. Two later works, *The Daft Days* and *Fancy Farm* struck a new note. They are both studies of the effect of modernity on plain people of a Highland town, but the achievement is hardly so high as in the romances. With his last book, Mr. Munro made a triumphant return to the moors and glens, and *The New Road* is the classic of the subduing of the clans. In all, his work may fairly be described as unique. New life was given to an old form, the true Celtic sentiment was voiced, and Scottish literature benefited inestimably by these romances that are so truly of Scotland.

One of the most individual writers of to-day, one of the most interesting of men is Robert Bontine Cunninghame-Grahame, born in 1852. Politically, he is almost an anachronism—a landowner by birth and a Fabian by conviction,

characteristics that guaranteed him a turbulent career as a politician. (He was Member of Parliament for the industrial district of North West Lanarkshire.) His writings have all the distinction to be expected from an individuality so strong, They take the form of short stories which are really sketches of the strange lands in which he has travelled. *Mogreb el Acksa* is the record of a highly dangerous pilgrimage to the sacred Mohammedan city of North Africa; *Faith, A Hatchment,* and the others are mainly concerned with experiences among the South American Spaniards of the pampas. Their style is quite uncommon. Mr. Cunningham-Grahame has a vocabulary and a method of using it all his own, and his books and stories are, in the highest degree, works of sheer art.

R. B. Cunningham-Grahame.

Mr. Kenneth Grahame has written very little, but that little is very graceful, very distinguished. *The Golden Age* is a classic. Such insight into the child-mind, the child-imagination is given to few, and Mr. Grahame's literary sense and style are admirable vehicles for these gifts. The same qualities are apparent in *Dream Days,* while the *Wind in the Willows* is one of our finest sympathetic allegories. The smallness of his output gives Mr. Grahame's work an added preciousness.

Kenneth Grahame.

Among the generation of younger writers, Mr. John Buchan has already a fast reputation as a novelist. He was born in 1875 in Peebleshire, had a very distinguished career at Glasgow and Oxford, and, after some diplomatic experience in South Africa, adopted literature. His earlier works, *John Burnet of Barns, Grey Weather, A Lost Lady of Old Years,* were successful ventures in historical romance with a strong Stevensonian flavour; *Prester John* is the fruit of South African experience, the romance of a Scots store-keeper in a veldt station. But of late years, Mr. Buchan has turned to the frankly melodramatic

John Buchan.

tale on the lines—as he admits in a dedication—of the good, old "shilling shocker." *The Thirty-nine Steps* and *Green Mantle* have been the most successful experiments in this vein, and, while they abound in incident and are swept by the long arm of coincidence, they possess a soundness that lifts them well above mediocrity. At the time of writing, Mr. Buchan is engaged on what may prove to be his greatest work: *A History of the Great War.*

D. S. Meldrum.

Mr. D. S. Meldrum is a novelist whose fiction is important in the national sense. *The Conquest of Charlotte* and the others of his few novels are, more or less, of the vernacular school, but with a conspicuous absence of the sentiment that seems inseparable from most tales in that fashion. There is a certain coldness that reads strangely in writing that is otherwise homely and of common folks; it is neither the bitterness of George Douglas Brown nor the roseate presentation of a Maclaren or a Crockett. There is in all Mr. Meldrum's work, a sanity, a culture of style and a technical aptitude that makes it of high importance in modern literature.

Ian Hay.

The popularity of Mr. Ian Hay's pleasant novels is the reward of healthiness, humour, freshness and vigour. *A Safety Match* and *Pip* make no heavy demand on the intellect, but they afford scope for a very remarkable genius in portraying the thoughts and actions of boyhood and youth. Mr. Hay was probably innocent of lofty intentions in writing *The First Hundred Thousand*, but he has succeeded, nevertheless, in producing a modern epic.

Stephen Graham.

One of the most picturesque figures of modern literature is Mr. Stephen Graham, that courageous traveller in Eastern Europe and acute observer of the life and thought of our Russian Allies. His work—brilliant, painstaking, and revealing—is of truly international importance, inasmuch as it has opened our incurious Western minds to the power of the Slav

temperament, and the splendour of their little-known country. He is the protagonist-elect of a supremely desirable alliance of intellectual and material interests between ourselves and an awakening people.

There is little to be said of Scottish women-writers. The tradition of the country, down to very recent times, has been all against feminine participation in activities beyond the home. But at least three names cannot be omitted from the most casual survey of Scottish literature. Mrs. Anne Grant (1755–1838) was the wife of the minister of Laggan, a lonely parish in Inverness-shire, near the line of the Caledonian Canal. From this retreat she wrote letters to her Lowland acquaintances, published later as *Letters from the Mountains*. They have all the stiffness and classical allusion of their time, but are valuable as vignettes of Highland life at the beginning of last century. Her other works, now unread, were a volume of poems published in 1802, and *Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlands*. In later life she was a close friend of Sir Walter Scott. Susan Ferrier was the author of *Marriage*, *The Inheritance*, and *Destiny*, which have deservedly survived as classics. Her humour is bright and infectious, and she was possessed of a deep insight that gave her unusual power of delineating character. She, also, was of the Edinburgh circle that shone in the days of Scott.

Women Writers.

Mrs. Margaret Oliphant (1828–1897) had a long and successful career as a writer. She was but 21 when the publication of *Margaret Maitland* brought her a fair measure of fame. From that date, her rate of production never flagged; her own family and that of a brother were dependent on her work. *The Chronicles of Carlingford*, comprising *Salem Chapel* and *Miss Marjoribanks*, and many other of her novels first appeared under the aegis of the firm of Blackwood's. Her untiring industry resulted not only in fiction but in historical works of considerable bulk if of no lasting value, and this fecundity

Mrs. Oliphant.

did much to affect the character of her work as a whole. Her style was careless, and her information—especially in the volumes of history—not always accurate; but she had many of the qualities of her great predecessor, Susan Ferrier, and, in her day, Mrs. Oliphant was one of the foremost women-writers.

CHAPTER VII

POETRY

THE character of Scottish poetry sets it in a class apart from the work of the prose-writers. While much of the latter is, in a sense, national, the greater part is wholly international—literature, not of a limited province but of a widespread language and sentiment. But the bards of Scotland have ever been provincial, singing of nature or of their own people in their own dialects. Those Scotsmen who wrote verse in pure English can almost be counted on the fingers of one hand; and they were not Scotland's best poets. The sentiment of Scotland, strong as it is, is peculiarly doric, racy of the land; her greatest poets are of the soil. And this fact has determined the school and status of Scottish verse. It cannot be classified under any international heading, for it is in a class by itself. It is Scottish.

The Border Ballads.

Like other countries, Scotland had its poetic beginnings in the ballads, those versified folk-tales of old that survived, first in the memories of peripatetic musicians and of their country audiences, and, since, as transcribed by the earlier schoolmen. Naturally their authorship is unknown, or, at the best, surmised. Doubtless, the best were the work of the professional rhymesters of courts and the halls of noblemen, fashioned for the entertainment of their masters. In connection with these ballads, an interesting point arises. Those songs which have achieved popularity beyond the Tweed as the "Auld Scots Sangs" are not, as is often supposed, the traditional folk-songs of the North. As we shall see, the great bulk of them sprang from the pens of eighteenth-century poets and poetesses, and the common misapprehension of their real origin is due to the fact that their first appearances were made in collections of so-called "Scottish Minstrelsy," "Museum of

Scottish Song," and "Poetry Ancient and Select"—anthologies which did not always make just acknowledgment of authorship. The genuine ballads differ essentially from these later productions. They are narrative, not lyrical; they were spoken, not sung; and—more important still—their dialect differs entirely from that of, say, Jean Elliott or Robert Tannahill. The matter of the ballads varies in character. Pure romance is to be found among them, as in "Earl Mar's Daughter" or "Young Hunting"; history, as in "Sir Patrick Spens" who, at his king's command, sailed

> "To Noroway, to Noroway,
> To Noroway o'er the faem;
> The King's daughter o' Noroway,
> 'Tis thou must bring her hame—"

and the chronicles of Border feuds, as in "Chevy Chase" and the "Battle of Otterburn." The interest of these old rhymes is great, and one marvels at the simplicity with which the poetical effects are obtained; but their greatest value lies in the fact that they provided a wide basis for the later poetry that is, after all, more purely Scottish.

The age of the ballad poetry is, of course, unknown, and not until the fourteenth and fifteenth century do we find Scottish poets whom it is possible to tabulate in any chronological order. The first of these, John Barbour, was contemporary with Chaucer and employed a dialect not unlike that of the greater English poet. Barbour's greatest work was a lengthy poem, "The Bruce," and the only poetic production of its century comparable with the verse of Chaucer. It has a power and spirit absent from the work of his contemporaries.

The Middle Ages.

The subsequent stage of Scottish poetry is peculiarly interesting. Geoffrey Chaucer died in 1400. and, from that date till the days of Spenser, the greatest writers of verse were all from the north. The four great names of that period are King James I of Scotland, William Dunbar, Gawaine Douglas and Sir David Lyndesay. They are doubly interesting as being

the last poets of note before the revival of the eighteenth century infused new life into Scottish minstrelsy. James, the King, wrote his great poem during his nineteen-year captivity in Windsor, where, at the age of 11, he was confined by Henry IV. The story goes that looking one day from his room in the Round Tower, he saw a fair lady pacing the garden walks. This was Jane Beaufort, granddaughter of John of Gaunt. The "King's Quhair" is written around this beautiful woman who, it is pleasing to know, became a Queen of Scotland. The stanza employed is the *rhyme royal*—not so called because of the kingly patronage—and the entire work is of great beauty and clarity. King James's most important successor was William Dunbar (d. 1530), who has been hailed by some critics as the "Chaucer of Scotland." In greatness he is second only to Burns, and his work displays greater imaginative power and variety of expression than that of the later poet. Gawaine Douglas (1474–1522), Abbot of Aberbrothock, and later Bishop of Dunkeld, translated the "Aeneid." His best work is in the prologues which he added to each book. Sir David Lyndesay (1490–1555) was tutor to the young King James V, and his life-long adviser. His works in verse are rather polemic than poetic, aimed against contemporaneous abuses.

After the Reformation.

The Religious Reformation of the early sixteenth century seems to have crushed out the spirit of poetry in Scotland for two centuries. It was not till the times of Allan Ramsay that the moribund native talent came again to life. The intervening period was one of great internal strife in Scotland; the bloody days of secession from Roman Catholicism, Cromwell's campaign, the trials of the Covenanters, Highland risings, Jacobitism—all these upheavals succeeded one another in absorbing the thought and activities of the Scottish people to the almost absolute exclusion of literary interests. Only three names are notable during this long hiatus; only one of the three is famous. Alexander Hume (1560–1609) is

practically unknown but for one transparent gem, "Story of a Summer Day." The following verses are typical of its perfect calm—

"Calm is the deep and purple sea,
Yea, smoother than the sand;
The waves, that weltering wont to be,
Are stable like the land.

"So silent is the cessile air
That every cry and call,
The hills and dales and forest fair
Again repeat them all."

Ayton and Drummond.

Sir Robert Ayton (1570–1638) was one of the first Scotsmen to write in pure English. His work is severely classical and unimportant from the national point of view. William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585–1649) is another Scotsman whose work is not typical of his birth. Like Ayton, he wrote in English, and his genius was of the Spenserian type. Drummond was the friend of Drayton and Ben Jonson, a fact which seems to alienate him further from Scotland; his prose-writings, however, are of Scottish subjects. It is on some perfect sonnets that his fame now chiefly rests.

Allan Ramsay. The Song-Writers.

From his time there was a long lapse till Allan Ramsay resuscitated the national muse. The work of this barber-poet himself is sufficiently important; "The Gentle Shepherd" is a very real pastoral of real poetic worth; but his greatest achievement was the interest he awakened in the well-nigh forgotten native poetry. He and his numerous associates are responsible for these lyric gems we know now as the Old Scottish Songs, and the most humanly interesting feature of the period is that his co-operators were mainly ladies of fashion and education whose interests had been aroused, primarily, by visits to the poet's *bibliothèque* in Edinburgh where the fashionable *littérateurs* of the day were wont to congregate. The first of these ladies was Joanna Baillie, who was responsible for "Woo'd and Married and a'," and

"Saw Ye Johnnie Comin." The fashion once set, other and more famous ladies followed it. Lady Ann Lindesay was one of the most renowned of the *dilettanti;* her famous contribution to song is "Auld Robin Gray." Mrs. Grant of Laggan, mentioned in the last chapter as a prose-writer, is remembered as a poetess only by one song: "O Where, tell me Where." "My Ain Fireside" is the work of Elizabeth Hamilton, while "My Mother bids me Bind my Hair"—set to music by Haydn—was written by Mrs. John Hunter, wife of the great anatomist. The greatest of all these great ladies was, however, Caroline Oliphant, Lady Nairne. The list of her songs is too lengthy for quotation here, but it is sufficient to mention "The Land of the Leal," "The Auld Hoose," "Caller Herrin," "The Laird o' Cockpen" and "The Hundred Pipers." She was an ardent Jacobite, this fair poetess, and her legitimist predilections are compressed in many of her songs, such as "Will ye no' come back again" and "Charlie is my Darling."

One might almost believe that the poets of this era were wholly engaged in supplying new words for all tunes, and in toning to respectability such broad verses as existed. Besides the patrician ladies, Hector MacNeil, Allan Cunningham, Robert Fergusson, and a host of lesser provincial versifiers were engaged in this fashionable work. The tradition lived well into the nineteenth century, ending only with the death of James Hogg, the "Ettrick Shepherd," in 1835. His was an interesting career. Practically illiterate in his younger days, he taught himself to read and write, and, in due course, achieved no little fame in Edinburgh literary circles. As a man, he was vain to the last degree, but "The Queen's Wake" and his shorter songs justify his own proud conviction of poetic gifts. In a sense, he was not properly of the revival poets; his work shows more the influence of Scott and the Border ballads, and, unlike most of his contemporaries, he could versify with grace in classical English.

James Hogg.

THE BRIG O' DOON

Scotland's greatest poet was a child of the revival. Robert Burns (1759–1796) stood out far above the countless poets of that age, more typical of the soil than any other, more dazzling in the wider fields of pure poetry. His career is too familiar to require repetition here; the incidents of his life—with special attention to his loves and lusts—have been canvassed *ad nauseam;* it is with his genius and achievement in poetry, and, particularly, in Scottish poetry, that we are concerned. Like his contemporaries, Burns was deeply interested in the song, and his success in this form was by far the greatest of a period of success. His work shows a spontaneity, a native faculty for interpreting the spirit of Scotland far beyond that of any other Scottish poet. His humour is quicker, his passion truer. He breathed the very spirit of the lyric, and, in that form, he has few equals, even beyond Scotland. His longer poems are less successful; still "Tam o' Shanter" has the humour and verbal felicity of Burns at his best, while "Holy Willie's Prayer" is an exemplar of effective satire. Of the former, Sir Walter Scott wrote: "I verily believe 'Tam o' Shanter' to be inimitable . . ." But it is beyond discussion that Burns was at his best in shorter works, on lyrical subjects in the vernacular. He must sing, and he did sing beautifully on any subject, moved by deep if transient emotion. It is this faculty that evolves the pure lyric, and Burns possessed it to the full. The second proof of his genius is his intuition. He took songs by forgotten writers, grasped infallibly the sense which the halting words strove to convey, remoulded them, and gave them to the world anew as perfect works of spontaneous art. Burns was essentially Scottish. When he writes in classical English, the reader is conscious of effort, of a sense of artificiality quite foreign to the natural poet of "To a Mountain Daisy" or "Jean." Scotsmen, perhaps, are prone to over-appreciation of Burns; it is a national characteristic; but his genius was too great to suffer from the most blatant ebullitions of national bias. Henley described him

Robert Burns.

as " a lewd peasant of genius," and, if such a discerning critic was eager to admit the genius, the addition of the epithet would seem invidious. Great artists are judged by their achievements, not by the habits of their lives.

While the art of Burns and his associates was more important to national poetry, the same period holds some poets of note whose work is entirely in English.

James Thomson and Campbell.

James Thomson (1700–1748) was one of the earliest revolters from the artificiality of Pope. He led the way back to Nature for inspiration. " The Seasons " and " The Castle of Indolence " are masterpieces of nature-painting and are characterised by the poet's easy temper and kindliness. Comparing Cowper and Thomson, Coleridge wrote that while the former is immeasurably superior in harmony and diction, " yet still I feel the latter to have been the born poet." Thomas Campbell (1777–1844) was a distinguished student of Glasgow University and the author of several lengthy poems, including " Gertrude of Wyoming " and " Theodric." His fame, however, rests chiefly on his patriotic lyrics of which " Hohenlinden," " The Battle of the Baltic," and " Ye Mariners of England " are classic examples. He was not a poet in the sense that Burns or Shelley or Thomson were poets; his vigour, his rhythm—those qualities which Professor Craik has called " the trumpet-notes in the language " —alone gave him the place he occupies in the list of fame.

As a poet, Sir Walter Scott was only of the second class, though it was a dear ambition of his to be great in this respect.

Sir Walter Scott.

He was too manly, too impulsive, possessed of too much worldly sense ever to achieve poetry of the highest merit. Vigour was characteristic of the man, and his long poems " Lay of the Last Minstrel " and " Marmion," with their " light-horseman sort of stanza," jog on in an undistinguished fashion. Only in the lyrics, interspersed in his romantic cantos, did he ever attain to the highest poetry. " Marmion " is bold, picturesque

and vivid, but "Proud Maisie" and "The Rover," judged in their own class, are infinitely greater achievements. His position as a poet is, in fact, due entirely to the lyrical quality of his shorter verses.

Before leaving this period of romantic revival in the Lowlands, one curious figure in Scottish poetry demands attention.

James Macpherson and Ossian.

This man, James Macpherson (1736–1796) was the prime mover in instituting a revival of a very different kind. In 1759, John Home, the author of *Douglas*, was visited by a stranger who submitted the manuscript of what were alleged to be translations from old Gaelic poems. With the aid of Home and his friends these were published as *Fragments of Poetry translated from the Gaelic and Erse Languages*, and were accorded an enthusiastic reception out of which arose a controversy as to their authenticity. That controversy is not yet settled. Macpherson, however, was in the meantime encouraged to further researches, the outcome of which was *Fingal* and later, *Temora*, described by the author and his supporters as translations from Ossian. Whatever the truth of the origin, they brought fame and fortune to Macpherson who purchased an estate with part of the profits, retired thereto, and left the question still undecided at his death. No manuscript of any originals has ever been produced, and it is generally agreed that, if it did exist, Macpherson must have taken a very free hand. Apart from the questions of the controversy, however, his writings have often a unique beauty and are of the first importance as contributory to the triumph of the romantic over the classical school of poetry.

The latter part of the nineteenth century is not rich in poetry so far as Scotland's contribution is concerned. It was a period of great industry in general literature; it saw the novel and the essay moulded to the modern form; it witnessed the awakening of a wider interest in old literature and the growth of a reading public for the new, but no poet of pre-eminence

James Thomson (B.V.).

came forward to carry on the tradition of the Burns circle or the other and more cultured school of Campbell and Scott. Almost without exception such writers as courted the muse were only secondarily poets. Primarily, they were novelists or essayists or historians who cultivated the verse form in a spirit of relaxation. There were, of course, exceptions, of whom the most important was also one of the most interesting of literary figures. This was a second James Thomson (1834–1882), known to some by the initials B. V., and to others as The Laureate of Pessimism. His was a sad life. Naturally a sensitive, introspective child, his early years were made difficult by poverty; worse than that, his mother was an adherent of Irving, the revolutionary theologian, whose teachings she accepted—as the Scots will in matters of religion—with fanatic sincerity. Thomson was denied the legitimate pleasures of boyhood and youth, and this oppression brought him to those extreme views which he held throughout his life. After some years' service as an army teacher, he became associated with the notorious Charles Bradlaugh and contributed some of his best poems, over the initials B.V., to the organ of the free-thought cult. They are, almost without exception, gloomy and hopeless to the last degree. His philosophy is that of despondent fatalism: that man is the plaything of capricious fate, that faith, hope and religion are alike futile. The best, perhaps, is "The City of Dreadful Night," which, apart from the philosophy, has remarkable power and beauty. Thomson was for long a neglected poet, till George Meredith dragged his name and fame from oblivion in an essay of deep appreciation. Curiously enough, the verses of his that have survived in more popular favour are those written in transient moods of hopefulness. It is difficult to reconcile our conception of the poet of the melancholia and the author of—

> "Give a man a horse he can ride,
> Give a man a boat he can sail;
> And his rank or wealth, his strength and health
> On sea nor shore shall fail."

R. L. Stevenson.

The poetry of Robert Louis Stevenson, such as it is, has a peculiar charm. It is obviously the work of a man who was essentially a story-teller, a prose-writer, and it has individuality. The aspiration towards poetry was characteristic of Stevenson; throughout his life he claimed, with a simple vanity, blood-brothership with that other Robert, the unfortunate Fergusson of the revival period. In one of his letters to W. E. Henley, May, 1883, he wrote—

"You may be surprised to hear that I am now a great writer of verses. . . I have the mania now like my betters, and, faith, if I live till I am 40, I shall have a book of rhymes like Pollock, Gosse, or whom you please. . . A kind of prose Herrick, divested of the gift of verse, and you behold the Bard."

His estimate of his own powers in this form was not far from the mark. His longer ballads, the poems in broad Scots and the sporadic fragments of rhyme, are all touched with precisely the same quality of candour, of cheerful morality. In the line of child-poems he was more poetically successful, for they display a remarkable insight into juvenile psychology; he seems to have remembered in middle-age what delights the imaginative infant. It is possible that the popularity of Stevenson's verse is derived from his popularity in other spheres; his works are so widely read, and the simplicity of his muse appeals to readers not necessarily attached to poetry. His *Requiem*, certain of his Scots poems, and most of the *Songs of Travel* are more familiar than greater achievements by less popular men. But there is no doubt that he had the gift if not the high inspiration. The verses beginning: "I will make you brooches and toys for your delight," is a love-song of the finest, and in his poem to S. R. Crockett, written from Vailima, there is all the poetry in an exile's heart—

"Blows the wind to-day, and the sun and the rain are flying,
Blows the wind on the moors to-day and now,
Where about the graves of the martyrs the whaups are crying,
My heart remembers how!"

Andrew Lang was a poet of a different character; he was more truly a poet's poet. Stevenson was an anomoly, a prose-writer who made verse distinctive through his own bright individuality; Lang had the inspiration but lacked the individuality, and his work suffers when classified with that of the pure poets. It is classical and beautiful in a fragile way. *The Ballads in Blue China* are characteristic of his original vein, but his best work is to be found in *Ballads and Lyrics of Old France,* where his unique taste and discernment found ample scope in selecting and translation. Lang was one of the first to reveal this realm of poetic beauty to the English-speaking people.

Andrew Lang.

John Davidson was the last of the more inspired Scotsmen. His career and his genius were surprisingly similar to those of the second James Thomson. Like that pessimist, he was a Renfrewshire man and left the vocation of teaching for literature. In 1890 he went to London where his highly individual poems and plays won him considerable reputation. Davidson was one of the earlier and greatest realists, and he was possessed in some degree of the melancholia that characterised the poet of "The City of Dreadful Night." His best poetical work is in *Fleet Street Eclogues,* published in 1893, and in *New Ballads* (1896), while his success in playwriting is *Smith*: a Tragic Farce, of earlier date than the poetical works. His innate depression resulted in his disappearance on March 27th, 1909, under circumstances that pointed all too clearly to suicide. Davidson was first the realist, in the full sense, but it cannot be doubted that his lyrical power, also, was of the highest. He has left one poem that can be described as a modern masterpiece in the song form—

John Davidson.

"The boat is chafing at our long delay
And we must leave too soon
The spicy seapinks and the inborne spray,
The tawny sands, the moon,"

The Present Day.

The living Scottish poets are few: Charles Murray, the poet of "Hamewith," is one of the last representatives of a great strain. The literary product of Scotsmen is merged utterly into the mass of English literature, and the vernacular is practically moribund as a vehicle of thought: education and commerce have seen to that. There can only be one Burns, and the age of miracles of that description is past. The Scottish sentiment, *per se*, is in no imminent danger of expiring, but the means and modes of expression have changed utterly in the gradual transition of Scotland. The peasant is no longer illiterate; he can read and write in classical English; and the children of the folks in comfortable circumstances are now cosmopolitanised almost beyond recognition. This latter class possesses, of course, its singers, but they are vocal in the broad literary sense, not in the restricted national sense. And the younger lutes are still; for war is absorbing every activity and has choked the song in many throats with the clay of France and Flanders. One of these, young Robert Sterling, gave high promise in his Oxford prize-poem, "The Burial of Sophocles," and the shorter verses written in the trenches. He is gone, and no one is forward to fill his place. But the hope remains that out of the ashes of the conflagration will arise a spirit that will bring new life to the silent muse of Scotland.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SCOTTISH PAINTERS

WHILE it is logically false to write in the abstract of national art when art is essentially international, there can be little doubt that the Scottish painters form a national school as individual and well-defined as any phase of artistic development can be. Through the agencies of Scottish temperament, sentiment and environment, there has evolved a broadly characteristic manner of painting, the exponents of which may fairly be grouped under the more or less arbitrary classification of the Scottish school.

The Church.

In every other country of Europe art had its beginnings in the Church, and Scotland was no exception to the rule, till the Reformation swept away every artistic tendency of the time and was followed by two centuries of internal upheaval through which no art could prosper. Those Catholic churches and monasteries that were rich in painting, tapestry and sculpture were the first prey of the reforming hordes. When possible—and it was only too often possible—they were destroyed; otherwise, the Puritan conscience was salved by the application of the whitewash brush which effectively obliterated all pictorial evidences of " Popish " licentiousness. So recently as 1845, some of the finest specimens of ecclesiastical art were revealed in the church of Fowlis Easter, near Dundee, by the removal of a thick coat of whitewash that had concealed three magnificent panels since the days of the Reformation. Fortunately, Fowlis Easter was one of the very few churches that escaped internal destruction. The Reformers succeeded in checking pictorial art as they succeeded in killing national literature. It was not till the Golden Age of the eighteenth century revival that painting came to its own again, and those

Photo by *Annan*

THE LAIRD OF Mc NAB

From the picture by Sir Henry Raeburn

masters arose to eminence who were to be the founders of the Scottish school.

Raeburn and Wilkie.

What Walter Scott and Robert Burns were to Scottish literature, so were Henry Raeburn and David Wilkie to Scottish art. They were the founders of a definite school, the great prime movers, the first artists to make their native land of any importance in international painting. Prior to their time, the native activities had been sporadic and unformed. There had been no painter of extraordinary genius to lead the way. Outside cultured circles, painting was an alien art which made not the slightest appeal to the mass of the Scottish people. The indispensable material prosperity, the necessary political calm were absent, and the cultivation of the fine arts was at a standstill. Yet these two men were destined to change the state of artistic affairs in Scotland; the first, Raeburn, by his assiduous portrait-painting, and the second, Wilkie, by masterly studies in *genre*. They welded together the unstated points of what was best in such national art as existed; to them the honour of remoulding native forces in accordance with the spirit of their times, and of laying down the firm base on which the Scottish school was to be built.

Early Followers.

Their contemporaries and immediate successors carried on the work after their great examples without accomplishing anything that can be described as epoch-making. George Watson (1767–1837), Sir John Watson Gordon (1788–1864), John Graham Gilbert (1794–1866), and Sir Daniel MacNee (1816–1882), though painters of strong individuality, derived much from Raeburn. Graham Gilbert was not properly a painter of portraits, but favoured fanciful one-figure pictures such as " The Lady Drawing " and " The Love Letter," the latter a beautiful example of his best work. The art of Sir Daniel MacNee is probably better known to modern picture-lovers. The portrait of Dr. Wardlaw in Elgin Place Church, Glasgow,

is undoubtedly his masterpiece, but "The Lady in Grey" has perhaps a wider circle of admirers. Sir Francis Grant (1803–1878) was not so peculiarly of the Scottish school, nor was he so truly an earnest, painstaking artist. He rose, nevertheless, to be President of the Royal Academy. His style was more trivial, his technique looser than the corresponding qualities in his contemporaries. The most notable of those who may fairly be described as the greatest contemporaries of Wilkie were William Allan (1782–1850), Andrew Geddes (1783–1844), and William H. Lizars (1788–1859).

Harvey and Lauder.

Sir George Harvey (1806–1876) was a painter of the middle period whose work was distinctly Scottish in manner and matter. He favoured subject-pictures of national life and incidents of national history to such an extent that he was, perhaps, the greatest exponent of "local colour." Many of his best works are of literary interest as derived from scenes in the Waverley Novels and tales of the Covenanters, but he had an original homely vein that reached its best in pictures like "The Schule Skailin'" or "The Curlers," both masterpieces. Resembling Harvey in some essentials, but differing greatly in technical ideals, Robert Scott Lauder (1803–1869) was one of his most distinguished contemporaries. His early work was illustrative of great scenes from the Waverley Novels. "The Bride of Lammermoor" and "The Trial of Effie Deans" are examples of his best manner. In late life, he devoted himself almost exclusively to paintings of Scriptural incidents, but these, though they display the development of his ideals as a colourist, hardly achieve the greatness of the Scott interpretations, where he succeeded in making the pictorial art fully realise the literary art. If he revolted in some details of technique, Lauder never departed from the tradition of the Scottish school; his mission was to infuse an element of naturalism into the mass of staid conventions.

This period holds a great Scottish artist who, though not properly of the national school, was of undeniable greatness.

William Dyce.

The early work of William Dyce (1806–1864) was in portraiture, a manner in which he was a distinguished successor to Raeburn and Watson Gordon. At the age of 30, however, he was called away from his easel-work to establish Government Schools of Design, and travelled widely in connection therewith. He was brought into contact with the new forces of art in London and on the Continent, and these weaned him from any provincial conventions he may have held. His best work is in the panels which he executed for the re-decoration of the Houses of Parliament. In his Government employment, Dyce found little time for separate paintings, but "George Herbert at Bemerton," in the London Guildhall, and "St. John leading the Blessed Virgin from the Tomb" are well-known examples of his manner.

Landscape—The Nasmyths.

For many decades, the Scottish artists devoted themselves almost exclusively to figure-painting, and the development of landscape-art was consequently slow. Though the northerners had kept abreast of contemporary movements in almost every direction, the first Scottish landscapist came half a century after Richard Wilson had established landscape among the artistic activities of England. Alexander Nasmyth (1758–1840) was a man of great talent in more than one sphere, but as a painter, he was not great. His landscapes adhere too closely to the classic formula and are cold and unattractive. But he introduced the fashion which was carried on by his son Patrick (1787–1831), who practised in London and has been called "the English Hobbema." Like his father, he was untouched by the ideals of Poussin and his contemporaries in France, and his work remained true to classicism.

A greater figure, however, than either of the Nasmyths, father or son, was the Rev. John Thomson (1778–1840), one

whose influence on Scottish landscape painting was as great as it was purely national. With the brothers John and Andrew Wilson and H. W. Williams he may be said to have imparted the first stimulus to landscape of the Scottish school. They were progressives, this little band, tending towards naturalism and away from the limitations of the classical convention, though the paintings of each differ essentially in technique and execution. Thomson confined himself to purely Scottish subjects, John Wilson went to England and France for his landscapes, while Williams affected poetic scenes in Greece. A fuller development, however, was to come with artists of a later generation. Horatio Macculloch (1806–1867) was the greatest direct successor of Thomson in landscape painting. His work is, unfortunately, as much undervalued now as it was overrated in his lifetime, but there can be no doubt that it constituted a real advance on the art of earlier landscapists. The early paintings of David Roberts (1796–1864) were principally studies of architectural beauties under various conditions of light and shade, but he turned later to landscape. The most important pictures are of scenes on the Continent and the East. He was an immensely popular artist, his work sold readily, and the effect of this is rather clear in his paintings. There is no depth of feeling in any of them, and the technique is unconvincing; only in his masterly grouping does he show unusual powers as a landscapist.

Rev. John Thomson and his Followers.

Sam Bough was a very prolific and very popular artist of the last century, whose landscapes are derived rather from the English than the Scottish masters. Though he depicted scenes from all parts of these Isles, he was happiest in painting the active life of harbours and wharves. Considering the rapidity with which Bough worked, the technique is marvellous. He achieved always the proper tone and accuracy of form. He was one of the foremost painters in water-colours, and

Bough and Fraser.

even his works in oil give the impression of having been executed in the former medium. The name of Alexander Fraser (1828–1899) is often associated with that of Sam Bough, but he differed from the latter in method. Bough composed; Fraser transcribed straight from nature. This realism is seen to advantage in his many pictures of the Cadzow district, where the deftness of his technique found full scope.

J. C. Wintour (1825–1882) and John Milne Donald (1819–1866) were of a less advanced school than their two great contemporaries. Only occasionally do their works afford a hint of naturalism; in the case of Wintour especially, adherence to classicism is too apparent. Milne Donald was more vital, particularly in his later works when the vigorous influence of Bough made itself felt. He seldom went beyond the Clyde for subjects and achieved in that limited sphere a quite remarkable " local colour " that raises his work far above the classic idealism of Wintour.

There have always been certain points of similarity between Scottish and Spanish schools of painting, and this resemblance is emphasised in the pictures of John Phillip (1817–1867). The early works of this great colourist were all in *genre* on national subjects, until a visit to Spain bore fruit in these pictures of Spanish life which brought him fame and fortune. The change of locality certainly led to a wider development of Phillip's art; it expanded his faculty if it did not change his characteristic manner. He was one of the great colourists, and great at a time when the Pre-Raphaelite school was formulating and propounding its theories of involved colour-harmony. His influence on Scottish art was very profound.

" Spanish Phillips."

The art of Sir Joseph Noel Paton (1821–1901) differed in many ways from the hard-and-fast tenets of the classical Scottish school. While his middle period was productive of " Lux in Tenebris " and other sacred subjects, he is best known by his characteristic compositions in the vein of allegory and mythology.

Sir J. Noel Paton.

"The Reconciliation of Oberon and Titania," painted for the Houses of Parliament, and "The Quarrel of Oberon and Titania," in the Scottish National Gallery, are examples of his unique skill in composition and drawing. These were fanciful subjects that suited his peculiar genius Paton's brushwork was never of high quality; it was in design and fancy that he excelled. He was of that mid-century movement in art that was so closely associated with literature, and his paintings show more the effect of the English aesthetics than of the more vernacular school of his native land.

James Fettes Douglas (1822–1891) was attracted for subject-matter by the dramatic value of the mysterious and bizarre, as the very titles of his paintings indicate. In his later years, however, he turned to landscape for which he showed deep if unconventional sympathy. His individuality is very decided, a quality enhanced by his expert technique and faculty for broad handling of subjects. Robert Herdman (1829–1888) was another artist of this period, who makes his appeal by simple methods. His subjects range from Biblical scenes to *genre*, from Highland peasants to mythological figures—yet in all his work there is a remarkable and characteristic directness.

Later Figure Painters.

Thomas Faed (1826–1900) was the younger and more talented of two talented brothers. He was ever popular in the sphere of *genre* where his peculiar merits —simplicity of rendering and tenderness— justified that popularity. "Faults on both Sides," in the Tate Gallery, and "The First Break" illustrate both his excellences and his tendencies towards over-colouring and sentiment, "bleat" as W. E. Henley described that quality. James Archer (1823–1904) differed in certain respects of technique and manner from his contemporaries. His best work was done in pictures of events from the legend of Arthur, but in portraiture and figure-subjects —as "The King over the Water"—he achieved much that is great.

While Robert Scott Lauder was not a painter of the very highest achievement, Scottish art must ever revere his memory as a teacher or, rather, inspirer of those artists of the late nineteenth century who gave a more modern and less provincial trend to native tendencies. Herdman, Bough, Fraser and others of an older school owed much to the teaching of the pioneer colourist, but it was in the work of Orchardson, Pettie, MacWhirter, McTaggart and their associates that Lauder's ideals were more fully realised. In their hands, native art grew richer, broader, more sensitive, while its scope became more international. Beyond Scotland, their predecessors, with few exceptions, had earned only nominal fame, but the names of those associated with the new movement were destined to reputations of greater universality. By them the Scottish colony of artists in London was formed; through them the dynamic force of northern painting made itself felt in wider fields.

The Pupils of Scott Lauder.

Sir W. Q. Orchardson was the earliest and, possibly, the most brilliant of these London Scots. Undoubtedly, he was the most popular. In subject pictures of dramatic interest his fame is widest, though he essayed portraiture and historical painting with more than superficial success. Orchardson had a profound "literary" interest in humanity, and the fruits of this quality are apparent in those spontaneously emotional works which reproductions of all kinds have made familiar to those whose interest in art does not extend beyond the "story." "Her Mother's Voice," "Napoleon on Board the *Bellerophon*," and "A Tender Chord," are typical examples. One notes the artist's superficial tendencies—the taste for elegant costume and setting, avoidance of bourgeois or homely subjects, grace, repose and cultured dignity; but at the same time his sense of drama and psychology save the gracious scenes from banality. As regards technique, Orchardson's equipment is narrow, in a sense, but highly polished within its

Orchardson.

limitations. He is restrained, never exuberant, never astonishing. His peculiar excellences are in colour, in design combined with a talent for delicate harmony, and in an individual style of drawing.

John Pettie.

His contemporary and associate John Pettie (1839–1893) achieved, for a time, an even greater popularity. Where Orchardson was subtle and emotional, Pettie was spectacular and vigorous. He also was a figure-painter, but derived his matter from scenes of chivalry and romance. A bold user of bold colour, his sense of values was never subordinate to the merely pictorial; he used the gift with discrimination and significance. Though differing from the early master in choice of subject, much of Pettie's work gives evidences of the lingering tradition of Wilkie, and this most noticeably in the earlier paintings; but he was essentially a modern with a characteristic richness that illustrates the artistic advance of a century. Such titles as "The Death Warrant," "The Drumhead Court-Martial," and "The Vigil," are most typical of the artist's choice of subject, but that he was not limited to one *métier* is proved by "The Jester's Merry-thought" and "Two Strings to her Bow," *genre* paintings that, perhaps, have won him more popularity than those which deal with romantic or cavalier incidents.

Lesser Lights.

The less prominent exponents of the Lauder tradition included G. P. Chalmers, Tom Graham, Hugh Cameron and the brothers Burr, among whom prevailed a taste for more homely sentiment than found its way into the work of Pettie and Orchardson. In his short life (1833–1878) Chalmers won a reputation for careful artistry, particularly in the elements of light and shade as applied to studies of old age and childhood. Tom Graham (1840–1878) never achieved the popularity of his contemporaries, possibly owing to the traces of Pre-Raphaelism in his work. He dealt principally with peasant figures, and used a gift of graceful sentiment with delicacy and humour.

A yet more intimate sentiment colours the work of Hugh Cameron who, while he has painted many pleasant pictures of children, found his true manner in the more poignant sympathy of " A Lonely Life " and the later " Child's Funeral on The Riviera."

William McTaggart painted successfully in various manners, but it is as a landscapist that he is pre-eminent. While he shared the notable qualities of Lauder's pupils, there are in his interpretations of nature a very unusual sense of light and movement and a very individual technique. He was the painter, *par excellence*, of motion and sunshine and the breezy open. Colour he handled with all the boldness of his school, but he possessed the great gift of infusing into his harmonies the subtle and difficult element of " atmosphere." Such pictures as " Mist Rising off the Arran Hills " and " Summer Breezes " are instinct with vigour and eloquence, effects heightened by his seemingly impulsive method. In this latter peculiarity of technique, McTaggart differed essentially from his associates and successors whose aim was and is more decorative; but he could control masses and sweeping effect to produce the most exuberant emotion of the scene, the unity of human thought and nature.

Landscapists—McTaggart.

The attitude of John MacWhirter to objects of the open country was essentially different from that of McTaggart. To him the delicate and idyllic in nature—the woodland glades, the solitary birch or pine—made its appeal, and a dainty and elegant talent were well suited to convey his vision. This fragile art of tree-painting is demonstrated in his popular " Lady of the Woods " and " The Three Graces," those exquisite studies in the grace and delicacy of the birch-tree.

MacWhirter.

Mr. Peter Graham views nature in a melancholy mood. For subjects he went to the dark valleys, the torrents and the grim mountains of his native land, and in painting from these achieved much, especially in his early days. " The Spate "

and " Wandering Shadows," of 1866 and 1878 respectively, show a remarkable advance on the work of Macculloch and his contemporaries. But, latterly, Graham's touch failed him and he developed a mechanical and often stereotyped manner that did much to injure his higher reputation.

These pupils of Scott Lauder, though they formed a distinct and notable group, did not make any revolutionary departure from the tenets of the national school. They widened its scope and modernised its ideals, while the most subversive phase was to come with that attractive band of moderns known as the Glasgow school. Before passing to a consideration of the genesis and aims of the latter, it is well to note the work of some great artists who have adhered to more conventional views. The art of Robert Gibb is of the school of Détaille and Lady Butler. His subjects are chosen mainly from incidents in the history of famous Scottish regiments and include " The Thin Red Line," depicting the stand of the 93rd Highlanders at Balaclava, " Saving the Colours," another Crimean episode, and the later picture " Hougomont." The late C. Martin Harvie devoted himself principally to the record of specialised incidents in literature and history, such as " The Childhood of Sir Walter Scott," " The Meeting of Burns and Scott," and " Unrecorded Coronation." Harvie possessed considerable powers of feeling, design and drawing, unhappily neutralised by a certain lack of refinement in conception and technique. Mr. G. Ogilvy Reid is a more vivacious painter of *genre*. His work includes much in the homely manner of Wilkie and some interpretations of historical episode, as " After Killiecrankie," but he has turned also to the graceful social figures of the eighteenth century and has produced many fine works in the spirit of " Discussing the News."

Conventional Moderns.

David Farquharson (1839–1907) was a painter of remarkable technical facility who did not confine himself to the landscape of his own country, but often went far afield for subjects.

This catholicity, indeed, was his great failing, tending, as it did, to superficiality of impression. He showed, however, a unique feeling for tone, a certain freshness and ease that enabled him to produce much refined and popular work. Mr. Joseph Farquharson is more of the specialist, though he has occasionally forsaken his forlorn landscapes of home for the warmer East. His chief excellences lie in the deft handling of light and shade, but his acute realism lacks poetry and insight. Mr. Leslie Thomson practises a sincere art that finds its most eloquent expression in paintings of East Anglian scenery. His view is essentially individual and personal, and his work possesses a sympathetic character of repose.

David Farquharson.

Among the moderns, Mr. David Murray holds a deservedly high place for his frank interpretation of the more vivid aspects of scenery. To colour and clarity he has paid much attention, and his chief effects are more tangible than subtle. "My Love has gone a-sailing," in the Tate Gallery, the brilliant "Loch Linnhe," and "The Ferry Rock, Corrie" are beautiful examples of his earlier work which was confined almost entirely to Scottish scenes. Of late years, Mr. Murray has worked in the south, where an inclination towards light and shadow—as distinct from pure colour effect—has become noticeable, along with an apparent search for a more dignified style. He remains, however, one of the very greatest and healthiest of living landscapists. This tendency towards the subordination of realism to style is more apparent in the work of a small group headed by J. Campbell Noble, a gifted painter of shipping and coastwise scenes, with whom the name of his brother, Robert, is associated. Mr. R. B. Nisbet (b. 1857) followed the Noble tradition of style to some extent, but is more distinguished by his harmonious and dignified water-colour paintings. Cecil Lawson (1851–1882) and Hope Maclachlan (1845–1897) belonged to a more emotional school of landscape-painting of which the most notable modern

Later Landscapists.

exponent is Mr. J. Lawton Wingate, born near Glasgow in 1846. His mode of expression is subtle and derives much of its quality from Corot, Turner, and even Whistler. Sunset and the elusive qualities of the fields in the twilight attract him, not the grand and impressive in scenery; his motives are simple and suggestive, and possess a very real value in that sphere of art which is concerned with the spiritual fascination of natural objects.

Marine Painters.

It is interesting to note that the outstanding marine painters of Scotland were, and are yet, closely associated with Glasgow and the West country. Of these, Colin Hunter (1841–1904), who began with landscape under Milne Donald, was possibly the most talented. In some respects his style was heavy and inelegant, and was seen to better effect in sombre moods than in the bright renderings of light and motion which he occasionally essayed. Hamilton Macallum (1846–1896) was more fascinated by the brightness of the ocean than by its sombre spirit, and produced much notable work, ranging in locality of subject from the Western Highlands to Capri with its Mediterranean brightness. Joseph Henderson (1832–1908) painted many varied seascapes of which " The Flowing Tide," in the Glasgow Corporation Gallery, is a particularly good example. Among living artists in this manner, Mr. Robert W. Allan has been notably successful if his interests are more varied. This Glasgow man has painted many animated pictures of fishing-scenes, on the open sea and in harbour, some Scottish landscapes and water-colour sketches of the Continent. His technique is brilliant and his conception full of life and incident. Mr. James Kay has made his mark chiefly with characteristic pictures of shipping on the busy reaches of the Clyde near Glasgow, in which he has made picturesque use of the kaleidoscopic incident of the great waterway. Latterly, Mr. Kay has turned his attention to the more ethereal aspects of landscape. Mr. R. M. G. Coventry has divided his attention between seascape and

landscape. His work in the former partakes of a fine quality of vitality, particularly in that inspired by the open seas of the Firth of Clyde, but he has shown much sympathy in his later water-colours of Flemish canals and cities. Messrs. Patrick Downie, Alexander Ballingall, and C. J. Lauder are to be noted among the group.

The Pastoral.

The pastoral subject received its most brilliant exposition in the work of Robert W. Macbeth. Though born at Glasgow in 1848, the influences which fashioned his art were mainly English, and it was in England and with English subjects that he accomplished his best. "The Lincolnshire Gang," "A Flood in the Fens," and "In a Somerset Cider Mill" at once demonstrate his inspiration and power; in them all his fine qualities of rhythm, incisiveness and emotion are apparent. Later pictures of another *genre*, such as the somewhat commonly conceived "Naval Manoeuvres," do not afford just scope for his peculiar talents. Mr. John R. Reid (b. 1851) followed, with his earlier pictures, a more sentimental vein, which, however, was vindicated by his characteristic vigour and simplicity. In subject he has been notably catholic, having travelled beyond the purely pastoral to a "County Cricket Match" and a melodramatic "Shipwreck." His real genius lies in the direction of nature's sentimental appeal. The art of Mr. Robert McGregor (b. 1848) has a continental strain, distinguished by veracity of tone rather than by the colour and brilliance of the native school. His paintings of field-labourers and country people are essentially simple, often pathetic, and his reputation as artist of the negative elements of homely life is well earned.

Sir George Reid.

Sir George Reid, the late President of the Scottish Academy, was with his successor, Sir James Guthrie, of the great among modern portrait-painters. Although a master of appealing landscape and refined pen-drawing, it is as the interpreter of character that he must be considered here. "Macleod of Macleod,"

" The Earl of Halsbury," with many other vigorous portraits, are achievements of the highest order in modern painting. He shares many of Raeburn's qualities: directness, simplicity, power of characterisation, and the ability to portray masculine rather than feminine features. Often his colour is too severely negative, often the detail is inclined to hardness, but these superficial defects are, after all, essentially typical of Scottish portraiture, and Sir George Reid was certainly the most able exponent of the art who, till the end, adhered to the traditions.

The Glasgow School.

For a century or more, Edinburgh had been the centre of practically every Scottish activity that was cultured, artistic and intellectual. The ancient capital, it had naturally become the metropolis where Scottish institutions and governing bodies were located, and the home of the Scottish Academy and National Galleries. But while the eastern city retained the glamour and prestige of history, Glasgow had grown to greater geographical extent and greater municipal opulence. With this growth came a certain jealousy of the capital, of its romance, and of its artistic advantages, which culminated in the establishment of an Art Gallery—now one of the richest in the kingdom—an Art Club which carried on the Milne Donald tradition, and an Institute where the annual exhibition afforded an opening for local artists. The movement waxed strong. For a time its adherents did not depart from the academic tradition; conventional landscape absorbed the activities of most till the 'eighties brought revolution, headed by a group of painters that had its headquarters in the studio of W. Y. McGregor. That artist, James Guthrie, E. A. Walton, George Hendry and Joseph Crawhall, a Newcastle man, were the prime movers, reinforced later by the accession of John Lavery, Alexander Roche, R. Macaulay Stevenson and E. A. Hornel, and by contact with Arthur Melville, an Edinburgh artist, who had been working by himself on unconventional lines. Briefly, their aim was realism. The conventions

of the Academy were thrown over and they strove for tonic effect—after the French school—direct expression in heavy pigment, the sacrifice of detail to emotional ensemble, and naturalistic principles generally. It was only to be expected that this attitude would meet with opposition from the conservatives; but the story of their struggles, modifications and ultimate success is too involved for narration here. It is sufficient to know that one of the leaders is now President of the Scottish Academy, that others are among the most talented and successful of British artists, and that the movement has been the most influential of all those that, from time to time, have diverted the course of national art.

With few exceptions, the originators of the Glasgow movement have been singularly diverse in their interests. Some have adhered faithfully to one particularised nature of subject, but most have strayed from the specialised into portraiture. Sir James Guthrie, born in Greenock in 1859, opened his career with some pictures in the manner of Pettie, then—under the influence of the new realism—turned to the country for subject-matter, and finally, has confined his activities almost entirely to portraits. During his most intimate connection with the naturalistic movement, he produced such pictures as the "Funeral Service in the Highlands," now in the Glasgow Corporation Gallery, and "Schoolmates" in Ghent, low-toned examples of his great power, appealing but free from sentiment, austere and realistic. In his portraits, the same powerful qualities have given him a place among the most famous painters in that manner. Undoubtedly, they marked an advance on his work in the fashion of the *plein-air* school. Guthrie is as successful in painting women and children as with masculine portraiture, in itself a sufficiently uncommon virtue to earn him the highest rank when combined with his extraordinary powers of realistic and scholarly painting.

Sir James Guthrie.

The art of Mr. John Lavery (b. 1857) is of even more cosmopolitan interest; his training was all in favour of that result. In him the French influence is strong.

John Lavery.

Such landscape as he accomplished in earlier days clearly demonstrates his debt to the tonal schools of Paris, while the figure-painting of his later period does more justice to his individual qualities. He is an elegant painter of elegance, more dashing, less sensitive than his *confrères* and succeeding, by brilliant methods, in making the most of a powerful native talent. As a painter of women Lavery is, perhaps, unexcelled; for his interest lies in the beautiful, the superficially beautiful, rather than in the deeper considerations of character and mentality. Like others of the school, his style is decorative with a marked tendency to effective colour-schemes. But, in all, there is no straining after effect; the manner springs from perfectly harmonised inspiration and technique, and his success is the just reward of an artist of very high merit.

The decorative tendency is more marked in the cases of George Henry and E. A. Hornel, two painters on whom Japanese art made an impression while they were yet in close sympathy with the early vigour of the Glasgow movement. Close associates from youth, they have since diverged in subject and manner, the former in the direction of portraiture and figure painting, the latter towards a very individual style of decorative woodland. Mr. Henry has been the more international. Starting with landscape, his product of the last decade has been more in the manner of Lavery. He is attracted by the female subject, to which, in such pictures as "The Blue Gown" and the recent "June Morning," he imparts a characteristic piquancy. This, indeed, would seem his outstanding mannerism; character is sacrificed to clever effect of tone and colour, all of which makes for a certain lack of refinement in perception if not in technique. Mr. Hornel's manner is, at least, definite. The

Decorative Tendencies—Henry and Hornel.

same subjects, round-faced children and flowered wood, depicted in mosaic of heavy impasto, consistently recur. There is little of delicacy and nothing of traditional feeling in these pictures, but they are so beautifully wrought and so richly harmonised that they attract and satisfy invariably. This devotion to specialised type has reacted on the popularity of Hornel's work; of late years, however, recognition and popularity have been accorded to this talented artist who so persistently declines academic honours.

Alexander Roche.

Mr. Alexander Roche (b. 1863) has performed his best work in landscape, varied occasionally, by the introduction of figures. In this he shows qualities of classicism which remove him, to some extent, from the more characteristic members of the Glasgow school. His attitude is essentially romantic, his manner essentially modern; but his studies are informed by a spirit of pure poetry that lends them an old-world charm. Roche has travelled far for his subjects; Clydesdale, Fifeshire and Italy have each inspired him; but all have been painted with the same fine realism and delicate sense of poetry. In his female figure-pictures of recent years there is more than a clever superficial appreciation of beauty, for these are distinguished by the spirit of a fine subjective understanding. Mr. Roche is, above everything, an artist's artist.

E. A. Walton.

The art of Mr. E. A. Walton owes everything to his strong individuality which was never subordinate to the immediate ideals of the Western movement. In landscape, figure-painting and portraiture he has done much exceptional work, but most conspicuously in the second of these fashions. One of his greatest achievements is a panel, executed for the Corporation of Glasgow, and depicting "Glasgow Fair in the Fifteenth Century." In this are evident all the artist's fine perceptions of type and scenery blended to decorative effect. Nature, as it appeals to Mr. Walton, is ever vigorous, living, and mature; robust technique and intelligent conception combine

in its most adequate expression. The portraits offer something of a contrast. Beauty appeals to Walton most strongly, and his inherent sense of the pictorial is not infrequently subordinated to the claims of tenderness. But that tenderness, which with him is a gracious refinement, invariably compensates for any loss of individuality.

Glasgow Landscapists.

The name of Mr. W. Y. Macgregor is associated with the most sacred ideals of the Glasgow school, for if his work has fallen off in quantity and quality during recent years, it was under his inspiration and guidance that the group came into being. A pupil of James Docharty's, his early work indicated no departure from convention. It was in the late 'seventies that he, with Mr. James Paterson, came under French influence and was so moved to a revisal of ideas. Latterly Macgregor's work, affected by the decorative manner of the younger men, lost more in fluency than it gained in realism; but, however regrettable that may be, his greatest work had already been completed when the new art clearly showed the influence of his pioneer paintings. Mr. James Paterson is not so directly a realist; he is, rather, a refined follower of the romanticists. The scenery of Nithsdale has inspired him to produce some of the most refined of modern pastorals, peaceful, ruminative and idyllic. Some of his later work has been more ambitious, "Lilies of France," in the Glasgow Institute of 1916, being a distinct departure from his early style. The feeling persists, however, that he is more charming in pure landscapes and, particularly, in those executed in water-colours.

Mr. R. Macaulay Stevenson was a prominent protagonist of the new movement whose development, however, did not come till some years after the school had been recognised and accepted as a vital force. In the interim, he had come under the direct influence of the Barbizon school, and had formulated an individual creed which finds expression in landscape of a mystical nature: effects of moonlight or twilight

on water or trees. If his subject-matter is limited, Macaulay Stevenson's pictures have all the vague fascination of poetry and mystery.

Mr. George Houston is not a direct follower of the school, since he has developed a style that is not primarily decorative and owes only its atmosphere and tone to the teachings of the older men. Ayrshire has provided the scenery for his most characteristic landscapes, of which tenderness and tranquillity are the attractive features. Within limitations, he is one of the most delicate interpreters of Lowland scenery. Mr. A. Brownlie Docharty wields a more vigorous brush, though his sentiment is no more complicated or profound. An unsophisticated view of nature affords opportunity for the play of a frank emotion and a virile technique. Like Mr. Houston he has painted much in Ayrshire, but the glens of the Western Highlands have provided the subjects of most of his later canvases. Mr. J. Campbell Mitchell is chiefly concerned with the effects of light and shade on the uplands. He is a subtle if not a profound interpreter of the more massive effects of atmosphere, and employs a technique that achieves much power and balance. The names of Archibald Kay, John Henderson, Morris Henderson and J. G. Laing, are associated with the group as those of successful artists in their various styles.

Three Younger Men.

Mr. A. K. Brown is a simple student of nature in a pensive mood whose pictures possess a strong charm compounded of poetry and tenderness. There is nothing dramatic, nothing animated in his work, which relies rather on delicate elements for its power to attract. Few painters could have achieved the same measure of success through methods so personal and unsophisticated. Mr. Charles H. Mackie is more clearly of the moderns, more decorative and less direct. Interiors with figure-interest have had their share of his attention, but poetic landscape has been the field of his best work. At various stages of his career, Mr. Mackie's talent has

seemed to vary as he was more or less interested in problems of technique, but recent work proved that he has reached a definite development of his very uncommon talent. Three pictures in the Glasgow Institute of 1916 were Italian in subject, fine examples of his aesthetic realism. While he owes much to Orchardson in his treatment of domestic subjects, Mr. J. H. Lorimer is to be reckoned among the moderns. His conception of pictorial and tonic values connects him with contemporary movements in Scottish art. Few artists have achieved such excellence in the painting of interiors with female and child figures grouped in dramatic effect. "The Flight of the Swallows," Scottish Modern Arts Association, and "Grandmother's Birthday," in the Luxembourg, prove all Mr. Lorimer's extraordinary talent for conveying sentiment by a combination of lighting effects and the poise of figures. His technique is, at times, coarse; but his exquisite and delicate sense of colour, his sure drawing and, above all, his sensitiveness, have earned him the admiration that is accorded only to a master. Mr. Patrick W. Adam has followed Lorimer to some extent and has painted *genre* motives in a dainty if indecisive manner. His tendencies are impressionistic, especially in landscape, where he evinces a leaning towards the rendering of snow effects.

The Purely Decorative.

A more decorative element colours the art of Mr. Millie Dow, who, with Robert Burns and John Duncan, follows more closely the example of Henry and Hornel. Landscape and flowers provided subjects for his earlier paintings of which "Spring in Morocco" and "Valley in the Apennines" are good examples. Serene in atmosphere, sympathetic in colour, they possess, in their decorative fashion, certain fine qualities of subjective sentiment. Burns is less trenchant in his emotional appeal but more effective from the decorative point of view. Modern figures have attracted him, as in the poignant "Adieu," his landscapes are distinguished by a certain quality of langour, but it is with female figures of

romantic interest that he has accomplished the best of his significant work. Mr. John Duncan has been active chiefly in the revival of mural decoration. His tendency is towards pseudo-Celtic subjects, in which he has shown considerable sense of beauty and romance. Mr. Robert D. Strachan has done good work in the same manner, while the decorative influence—particularly that of Aubrey Beardsley—is clear in the less ambitious work of three Glasgow girls, Jessie M. King, Katherine Cameron and Annie French. Their chief activities are confined to the illustration of romance and fairy tale.

Painters of "Genre."

Mr. R. Gemmell Hutchinson is one of the most important living painters of pure *genre*. His sentiment is not that of the Faeds, but literal and vigorous as might be expected from a modern. However lacking in grace, his pictures are well conceived and to the point. "Hallowe'en" and "Bairnies Cuddle Doon" are executed with much power and verisimilitude, though the technique is certainly not attractive, while later productions, such as "An Irish Nun of Ypres," show increasing refinement both in inspiration and quality. Mr. Henry W. Kerr is the successor of Erskine Nicol since his *genre* paintings share the predilection for humorous subject, both Scottish and Irish. He is, however, less farcical in interpretation, subtlety takes the place of burlesque, the humour is drawn from real life and not from theatrical conceptions of life.

Figure painting suffered heavy loss in the early deaths of Robert Brough (1872-1905) and W. J. Yule (1869–1900), both of whom lived long enough to prove the possession of uncommon talents. In his day, Brough was the fashionable portrait-painter, a position hardly justified by achievement. So much of his success was dependent on a dexterous and unconventional technique, which, if elegant and attractive, often fails to reproduce more than superficialities. But his paintings are undeniably entrancing; the very swagger of his

style made them all the more so; and it is beyond doubt that his death in a railway accident cut short a career with potentialities of greatness. The art of W. J. Yule was infinitely more painstaking and, at the same time, more subtle, especially when applied to the painting of children. Most of his work was done on such motives—though Spain provided him with outdoor subjects—and seldom have child-painters achieved such distinction in the portrayal, not only of the features, but of the child-spirit of his sitters.

Arthur Melville.

Arthur Melville (1855–1904) was something of an anachronism. He was associated with the original Glasgow group; he developed independently a style more distinctive than any of the others. Primarily, he was an impressionist, and, after McTaggart, one of the most distinguished that Scotland has produced. Melville painted portraits, rich and, perhaps, too vigorous, decorative interiors and native scenes, but it is through the dazzling impressions of the East that he is best and most deservedly known. He travelled extensively, through Egypt, Mesopotamia and back, through Asia Minor, to Constantinople, journeyings that fructified in some of the most original pictures of the present time. "A Moorish Procession," in the National Gallery of Scotland, and a hundred other impressions give evidence of a most suggestive talent, an unconventional and wholly vital technique, and a mental eye that saw far through appearances to the subtle glamour of environment.

Modern Portraiture.

Among the few moderns who have devoted themselves almost entirely to portraiture, Mr. Fiddes Watt paints in a very distinctive manner. His early work showed distinct traces of the influence of Brough's vigorous style, but a leaning to more careful, more individual handling has been observed in his work of recent years. A recent portrait, indeed, that of "The Right Hon. Sir John H. A. Macdonald, K.C.B.," is a very restful and distinctive study in characterisation. Mr.

Harrington Mann displays a more animated and decorative style. His technique, especially in studies of fashionable people, is massive and inclined to bravado, but it becomes refined, realistic and delightful in his more successful portraits of children.

Animal Painters.

Few artists of the new school have concentrated on animal painting, but of those who have done so, at least two have won more than provincial reputation. Mr. William Wells has painted domestic animals, principally dogs, wild animals, and landscape with slight animal interest. Simply, yet dexterously executed, his pictures are the work of an artist well justified in the choice of his subject by a true feeling for animal-life and the harmony of surroundings. An early dullness of tone has given place to vigour and clarity of atmosphere. The landscape, "A Rushen Valley," in the Glasgow Institute of 1916, with its procession of geese in the foreground, was an idyll of calm and clearness. Mr. Edwin Alexander concentrates his distinctive style on painting birds principally. His powers of subjective observation are uncommon, and the delicacy of his method lends itself to very sympathetic expression of animals at rest. In water-colours his painting is most attractive. His art has many of the subtle qualities associated with Japanese painters, and is more delicately expressive of repose than of vigour and movement. A series of Egyptian sketches proves that Mr. Alexander has a fine sense for mysterious landscape. Two Glasgow artists, David Gauld and Sam Fulton, have done notable work on a more modest scale, the one specialising in portrayal of Ayrshire calves, the other in the graces and pathos of the domestic terrier.

Three Etchers.

It is an interesting fact that three of the most capable members of "The Society of Twelve" are Scotsmen and, more particularly, Clydeside men. In D. Y. Cameron, William Strang, and Muirhead Bone, Scotland can boast three etchers of quite unique capabilities. Of these, Mr. Cameron is probably

the most distinguished, since he possesses the finest instinct for subject and essential treatment. Architecture interests him most deeply, though landscape, figure and interiors have not remained untreated by his powerful art. In numerous "sets," beginning with that of the Clyde in 1890, and travelling through North Holland, North Italy, London, Venice, Paris, France and Belgium, he has exhibited the development of an exceptional style and technique. The highest of Mr. Cameron's attainments are those that deal with the light, shade and mass of structure, elements which are deftly yet simply expressed by all the devices of a masterly style. In painting he has done work which, of itself, would win him a high place in contemporary art.

William Strang.

Mr. William Strang is a more passionate interpreter whose interests lie in life and its dramatic possibilities. His subjects, as "Death and the Ploughman's Wife" or "Maternity," are sufficient evidence of the fact. This characteristic, indeed, has led him into a land of the grotesque and tragic, where, however, the morbidness is relieved by the nuances of an expressive and satisfying art. Each one of his pictures has a story; each story is humanly elemental and told with comprehending skill. Strang has done much illustration, not directly illustrative, but rather interpretative, some painting and, latterly, drawings in chalk or gold-point; but his best is in the etchings of human subjects, a sphere wherein he has no rivals.

Muirhead Bone.

Mr. Muirhead Bone is the etcher of emotional phases of city-life and industry, but that he possesses the gift of delicacy and a talent for "atmosphere" is shown in those pictures wherein he has forsaken cities for the distant view of cities. His line is softer than that of Cameron or Strang, and conveys a stronger sense of richness. Romantic in view, Bone's etchings are of more historical interest than those of his two great contemporaries. This group of three has had many followers among whom James McBey, Andrew Affleck, Robert Bryden

are prominent. In pure illustration William Small, A. S. Boyd, Denholm Armour, the brothers Orr, and George R. Halkitt have all gained distinction in a somewhat limited sphere.

There is no national school of sculpture, but there is, at least, one great Scottish sculptor. Mr. Pittendreigh Macgillivray was one of the founders of the Glasgow school and has spent twenty years of his life in Edinburgh where, after prolonged vicissitudes reflecting unpleasantly on the reputed taste of the capital, his Gladstone Memorial was completed and recently unveiled. This is assuredly the grandest monument worked by a Scot. It is of massive proportions, and comprises the figure of the statesman surrounded by magnificent emblematic figures in bronze. Virile, dignified and revealing, the exquisite group has established a standard for Scotland of the very highest.

CHAPTER IX

ARCHITECTURE

Robert Louis Stevenson notes somewhere that, to the Scot crossing the border into England, the first forcible impression of strangeness is the change in the style of architecture. The writer, of course, referred to domestic architecture, for, while there is a family resemblance in the ecclesiastical designs of both countries, those of the respective typical dwellings are, indeed, very different. Study of native houses in the traditional style—for modern villas are not typical—might well cause the stranger to decide that the Scots, no matter how largely gifted with common sense in building, have inherited the Calvinistic point of view and are strangely blind to the graces of architecture. And that decision would, in a measure, be just. For the Scottish town-house is not picturesque; four-square, solid, rational, utilitarian, if you will, but unbeautiful; yet it is, with all its aesthetic blemishes, an accurate reflection of the effects of climate, character and history.

Early Tendencies.

For the reasons of most things Scottish the enquirer must retrocede far into the fogs of chronicle and legend, and architecture is the one fine art which is durable beyond all other manifestations of human activity. There seems little doubt that the earliest artists of Scotland in writing, painting, structure and metalwork, were the monks of the Celtic people. The relics of their handiwork are not numerous, but such as exist demonstrate that the holy men possessed considerable native skill in the arts as applied to material on a small scale. Of their purely architectural work, however, only the vaguest traces remain, and these lead to the assumption that the early ecclesiastical buildings were undistinguished by any ornamental features, designed, as they were, in the conical, beehive

fashion of all aboriginal Celtic or Pictish remains. The type conforms generally to that of the Irish round towers. It possessed neither the elaborate ornamentation nor the deliberate design associated with architecture in its modern interpretation.

The decorative phases did not come until a much later age brought foreign influences to bear on the Scottish people.

Norman Influence.

In regard to structural design, the Norman settlements and reciprocity with the Anglo-Normans probably gave the first stimulus towards form, for during this period were built some of the finest extant examples of early church and stronghold. In the first place, the castles of the north were purely utilitarian and built for the single, grim purpose of protection in times of tribal strife. Many examples of these unadorned keeps are still to be seen among the " peels " of the Border Country and the lofty castles of the Western Highlands. With the advent of the Normans, however, native taste became more cultured and, while the strongholds were built in purely military intention, more attention was paid to decoration and elaboration of tactical features. The castle of Caerlaverock, in Dumfriesshire, is an excellent example of this more involved style. Ecclesiastical architecture of the same period was more purely ornamental. The church of the time was Catholic; it is possible that the country was richer than during the four subsequent centuries, and many very beautiful specimens of decorative structure in the first-pointed style were erected during the century preceding the wars with England.

These Wars of Independence, as they are called, introduced a fresh if not wholly diverse influence. As we have seen in a previous chapter, the first political effect of the conflict was the formation of a defensive and offensive alliance between France and Scotland which lasted unbroken for 230 years, and resulted in incalculable benefit to the northern people

The Alliance with France.

as much from the social as from the military point of view. English influences were cut off and those of France prevailed. In architecture, this continental influence is manifest principally in the design of fortified castles and of later mansions built at a time when military impregnability was not such a pressing consideration. Combined with the native tendencies towards solidarity, it resulted in the evolution of a characteristic manner known as the Scots Baronial, a style in which many of the finest seats of the Scottish landed gentry are built. From the square, unadorned block of the aboriginal structure spring flanking turrets and bastions topped with high, conical roofs, the whole blended in a rather fine effect of richness and freedom. It is a flagrantly irregular style, but, set in typical Scottish landscape, its beauty and effectiveness are undeniable. It is of interest to note that the manner persisted, for country houses, even to modern times and long after the age when tactical strength ceased to be a necessity.

The Tenement.

A second and no less important architectural result of the Auld Alliance is manifest in the design of humbler dwellings. The ancient towns of Scotland consisted, no doubt, of single houses or cottages, each inhabited by one family; and this fashion was practicable so long as trade remained undeveloped and land unburdened. Trade, however, did develop, land did increase in price, and economic requirements brought about the introduction of what is now known as the tenement system. That system was borrowed direct from France. Visitors to Scotland are familiar with the appearance of these grave, solid dwellings or blocks of dwellings, and with the uninspiring sight of long streets in Lowland towns, consisting exclusively of two serried rows of these flat-faced buildings. The tenement or "land" is generally of three or four storeys in height, with a common entry and stairs, known provincially as the "close." On each storey are two, sometimes three dwellings opening on a common

landing. In industrial districts each of these dwellings consists of from one to three rooms and a kitchen, but there is no rule as to accommodation, many flatted-dwellings in Edinburgh and Glasgow containing houses of very considerable size. The popularity of such residences is somewhat inexplicable to the Englishman, while, on the other hand, it is tolerably certain that the English system of communal flats can never be popular even in the largest cities of Scotland. As has been remarked elsewhere, the lower-middle-class Scot is something of a social aspirant and looks beyond the rental of a tenement house to the possession of a self-contained or semi-detached villa.

A word may be said here with regard to the typical cottage of the country, the "but-an-ben" of vernacular tradition. No extraneous teachings have gone to the evolution of this essentially primitive building, which differs little from the dwellings of country-folks of any other nation. It consists generally of two apartments, one, the kitchen, being the living room of the inmates, the other a cherished parlour, reserved almost exclusively for such ceremonial occasions as the visits of the gentry or of the minister. They are white-washed cottages, low, solid, and deep as to the setting of the windows. Slates are now general as a roofing material, but many specimens of the original straw thatches exist here and there throughout the country, especially in the west and north.

Destruction.

The last great influence on Scottish architecture—though it was, truly, less an influence than an interference—resulted from the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Scottish buildings had suffered sufficiently during the various raids of the English, but such damage was only partial and quite negligible in comparison with the utter ruin wrought by the hands of the Scots themselves, when, under the blinding influence of fanaticism, they set out to abolish Popery. Churches, and particularly those that were the seats of the Catholic ecclesiastical government, provided material for the destructive

zeal of the reformers. Some were burned and the charred skeletons torn down, some were merely stripped, but very effectively stripped, of all evidences of Roman "idolatry"; a few—and this through fortuitous circumstance—escaped all damage. And so disappeared the only real, lasting monuments of native art. Following generations of Puritans abated not one whit of the first fierce prejudice against ornamental building. Such churches as remained were altered in conformation with Calvinistic principles of severity; the architects of those that were erected subsequent to the Reformation would appear to have sought inspiration from the cattle-sheds of the farms rather than from the Gothic and Norman examples that survived the Knoxian outburst. The whole affair was a sorry exhibition of the aesthetic blindness of a mob, however genuine its intentions. It is only within comparatively recent years that ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland has recovered from the cramping effects of the revolution that occurred 400 years ago.

The original Catholic Church of Scotland was governed from the see of St. Andrews with two subsidiary embassies at Elgin and Glasgow. Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews—known variously to the reformers as the "mitred Belial" or "Antichrist"—was naturally the prime mover against Knox, and it was towards his Cathedral by the North Sea that the Protestant army made its first move.

St. Andrews.

> "And wi' John Calvin i' their heads,
> And hammers i' their hands and spades,
> Enrag'd at idols, mass and beads,
> Dang the Cathedral down."

Consecrated in the early fourteenth century and the magnificent result of a century and a half of labour, the building was furiously attacked and, though not completely razed to the ground, was so far damaged that no attempt has ever been made at reconstruction. Parts of it are standing yet, cared for by a department of H.M. Office of Works, and giving evidence

Photo by *Hardie*

ELGIN CATHEDRAL

in the construction of the windows that its architectural type was partly that of the semicircular arch and partly of the pointed arch of the Norman transition period. Recent excavations have revealed fully the original ground-plan of the Cathedral, and every possible care is being taken that the tragic ruin will not suffer disintegration through the effects of time.

Elgin Cathedral.

The Cathedral of Elgin was a yet more splendid specimen of ecclesiastical architecture, if not so massive as that of St. Andrews. This "lantern of the north," though frequently attacked by marauding chieftains, did not suffer any direct harm during the troublous times of the Reformation, and its present condition of ruin is due almost entirely to the ravages of time, the building being unused and uncared for after the ejection of the Catholics. Occasional acts of vandalism are on record, but the destruction of the Cathedral as a complete edifice was brought about by the collapse of a beautiful spire at the beginning of the eighteenth century. No more melancholy memorial of national oblivion to beauty exists in any country. But such remains as are standing to-day, in the careful charge of a Government department, indicate that in its pristine magnificence, Elgin Cathedral was all that was claimed for it by Bishop Bur, who described it as "the ornament of the district, the glory of the kingdom, and the admiration of foreigners." Built in the shape of a cross, with two towers flanking the pointed arch of the western gateway, and one high, central spire, the edifice was 289 ft. long. The western towers are yet fairly intact, but the interior, the tracery of the windows, the pillars, the roof, and the painted decorations are either missing or irreparably damaged. In manner, the architectural design is the Early English variation of Gothic which is to be observed most clearly in the remains of the choir and the gateway towers. The ruin has been repaired to such extent as safety demands, and the removal of fragments has left the skeleton of what might have been Scotland's most glorious monument.

Early English style characterises the design of Glasgow Cathedral which, with the churches of Kirkwall and Old Aberdeen, is one of the very few survivals of both reforming and restoring zeal. Its interior was, naturally, ridded of Catholic insignia, but the western reformers gave promise of their future commercial greatness by leaving the structure intact, converting the choir to suitable Presbyterian sobriety, and, later, with a wall built across the nave, by providing accommodation for two congregations. The rough partition, however, was removed in 1835, and twenty years later the entire structure was subjected to a very discriminating restoration. It is possible that three congregations actually worshipped in the building at the same time, since the Crypts furnished room for the adherents of the Barony Parish. One congregation now worships in the Cathedral of Glasgow, and its enthusiasm and spirit have been largely instrumental in preserving the integrity of a fine Gothic pile. It is to the credit of the western city that recent operations—the restoration, the introduction of stained-glass windows, and the repair of the roof—have been carried out with every regard to artistic propriety.

Glasgow Cathedral.

In the valley of the Tweed stand three interesting ruins, monuments of the destructive nature of English raids. The Abbeys of Melrose, Jedburgh and Kelso were, by reason of their isolation from populous centres, more or less immune from the malignant attentions of the Knoxian reformers, and, indeed, had already suffered so much in Border strife as to render such fresh destruction unnecessary. Through the "moonlight" reference in the second canto of "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," Melrose is possibly best known, and this fame is justified by its architectural distinction. In the latter respect it is unique in Scotland as the only famous building affording pronounced traces of the Tudor or Perpendicular style. The characteristic four-centre arch, however, was

Border Abbeys.

not used, the Tudor hood being invariably overtopped by the pointed arch of a truer Gothic. The interior is in a fine state of preservation and adorned with exquisite flower-carving, while the great East window of Scott's verses retains its "foliaged tracery." Melrose is historically interesting as the first Scottish stronghold of the Cistercian Brotherhood.

Jedburgh Abbey suffered more severely than any other at the hands of the English; during its 300 years of troubled existence it required constant repair and restoration, and the ruins, in consequence, bear evidence of various styles. In these remains—and they are surprisingly complete—the choir is Early Norman, the nave a compromise between Transition and Early English, and the great western doorway of the purest Norman. The smaller south door is, perhaps, the glory of Jedburgh, finely proportioned, admirably finished and decorated with grotesque yet delicate carvings of human figures, animals and tracery of foliage. As a composition in variegated manners, Jedburgh Abbey is one of the most interesting piles in the north, and, even with its stylistic complications, justifies the enthusiasm of one writer who declared it "the most perfect and beautiful example of the Saxon and Early Gothic in Scotland." Kelso Abbey is less interesting as a specimen of ornamental structure. In parts Norman, in others pointed Gothic, it would appear to have been built for military purposes rather than as the retreat of a monastic order, for the building approximates closely to the model of the typical Norman castle. The remains are yet comparatively sound, evidence of the practical point-of-view of the early architect.

Island Cathedrals.

"That man is little to be envied . . . whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona," wrote Dr. Samuel Johnson of the island cathedral after an expedition which, for discomfort, might well have stirred the lexicographer to typical scorn of things Scottish. But Iona, lonely, wind-swept and dignified, carries an aesthetic appeal that makes it one of

the most attractive of historical remains. Here laboured St. Columba, here was erected the monastery from which his work was carried on, and which became, in later years, the cathedral of the bishopric of the Isles. The existing ruins were probably erected in the twelfth century and, by reason of discriminating restoration carried out forty years ago, are in a fair state of preservation. Late Norman and Early English are the main architectural features. Another island church, the Cathedral of St. Magnus, at Kirkwall, is the second of the two edifices that have survived in their complete state until modern times. Not a large building in comparison with other cathedrals, it stands out in solemn grandeur above the bleak Pomona landscape. It is built of red sandstone varied with white blocks in various styles, principally Norman, but the variety has happily combined in the production of a heavily built yet dignified pile, "matched" as Hill Burton wrote, "by very few of the ecclesiastical edifices of our great cities."

Dunblane.

The Cathedral of Dunblane is doubly interesting as one which suffered the fate of all cathedrals during what Archbishop Laud called the "Deformation," and also as an edifice that was completely restored after standing roofless for three centuries. This restoration, which cost a very considerable sum, was completed in 1895, and the nave of the cathedral is again a spacious hall, lighted and heated as the most modern church. Two towers of the Second Pointed period were added, though the original structure—designed, as Ruskin said, by "no common man"—is purely First Pointed. The glory of Dunblane is the west frontage where the doorway is flanked by blind arches and surmounted by three long, narrow windows, the central light crowned by a cinquefoil; over all is an exquisite vesica framed in a cross-wise arrangement of bay leaves.

Throughout Scotland, there are numerous ecclesiastical remains of more or less architectural interest; but all of them

possess the melancholy attraction of survivals of a great artistic tragedy. Many of the older collegiate churches are still complete—St. Giles of Edinburgh, St. Salvator's of St. Andrews, St. Michael's of Linlithgow and others—but the monasteries all suffered destruction and desolation. Dryborough Abbey is sacred as the burial place of Sir Walter Scott; Sweetheart, the Cistercian Abbey on the Nith, its sister church Dundrennan, the richly decorated Lincluden, Lindores near Newburgh, Fifeshire, Cambuskenneth by Stirling, the renovated Dunfermline, where lie the mortal remains of Robert the Bruce;—these and many others have their interests.

Palaces and Keeps.

As regards military and domestic architecture, it has been seen how, under Norman influence, the unadorned keeps of the native lords developed into more elaborate castles, and how, as a result of direct contact with the French during the alliance, these castles were further enlarged and adorned by "pepper-box" towers and bastions, thus forming the basis of the characteristic Scots Baronial style. There are countless examples, ruined and occupied, of all periods. But a still more complete adoption of French conventions is to be noted in the buildings erected during the latter years of reciprocity. Many of these, it is interesting to note, are the ancient royal residences of the kingdom. The Palace of Holyrood—as distinct from the Abbey which was founded by David I in 1128—was built for James IV in the early sixteenth century and had many vicissitudes till it was finally reconstructed by Charles II. Part of the earlier structure, however, exists in the northern wing of the present building, and the entire design corresponds closely to that of contemporary French chateaux. Linlithgow Palace, again, shows similar characteristics, while the architecture of Falkland is more complicated by Gothic, Baronial and Corinthian features.

There is little to be said of modern tendencies. The

Reformation effectually checked development of a higher native style, and the Union gave opportunity for the introduction of new and disconcerting features. The villas of Lowland suburbs are undistinguished except in so far as they are built of more solid material than is necessary in a milder climate and are unpainted, the stone weathering to a uniform greyness. Popular taste, however, has improved vastly since the merchant princes of mid-Victorian days loved to build their pseudo-Italian atrocities. Red-roofed bungalows of the modern English type grow in favour with those who can afford a second house by the sea or in the country, but the sentimental Scot has not yet entirely surrendered his sober taste for a plain, stone-built house.

Modern Tendencies.

Strict Calvinism would not seem the happiest environment for the development of architectural genius, but two famous names in the history of design are those of Scotsmen. The earliest, however, was a Roman Catholic. James Gibbs was born at Aberdeen in 1674, and, after twenty years' study on the Continent, returned to London where he designed some metropolitan landmarks. He completed the Church of St. Clement-Danes, designed St. Mary-le-Strand, St. Bartholomew's Hospital and the venerable pile in Trafalgar Square, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. At Cambridge, he erected King's College, and, at Oxford, his masterpiece, the Radcliffe Library. Some decades later, the brothers Adam, Robert and James, did even more to alter the appearance of the metropolis. Portland Place, Stratford Place, Fitzroy Square and the Adelphi, represent a fraction of the handiwork of these Kirkcaldy men. They were the pioneers of stucco decoration. The Adams were also responsible for much private work, including the Church of Mistley, Essex, Lansdowne House in Berkely Square, and Luton House, Bedfordshire. To their native land, they contributed the designs of the first Glasgow Royal Infirmary and an extension of

Gibbs and the Adams.

Edinburgh University, apart from numerous private works. The most notable name of modern days is that of Sir Robert Lorimer, designer of the chaste and elegant Thistle Chapel, restorer of ancient buildings, and ingenious adapter of old Scots Baronial ideas to the exteriors of modern dwellings of the most luxurious character.

CHAPTER X

MUSIC AND THE DRAMA

If the possession of unique wealth in the form of beautiful folk-melodies indicates a people of refined musical sensibilities, then the Scots are a musical people; if achievement in music is judged by the number and genius of modern creators, then Scotland shares the artistic obscurity of most northern races. Only one Scotsman has risen to anything approaching greatness in music, and he failed to implement the early promise. In interpretation, the story is the same; be it the result of climate or the result of temperament, there never has been a Scottish vocalist of more than provincial reputation. Two pianists there are, indeed, of northern birth, but they are now, and have been for years, of German nationality and sympathy, and cannot, therefore, be considered or criticised as Scots.

It is a remarkable state of affairs, all the more remarkable because time has bequeathed to the Scottish people a legacy of national airs such as is possessed by no other country in the world. This is characteristic of hill-peoples and particularly of Celtic peoples ; Ireland and Hungary are the only other countries whose musical richness approximates to that of Scotland. But Hungary has produced great musicians, and Ireland was the homeland of some of the greatest British composers. Scotland still awaits the national composer. The reasons lie with history and specially—as always—with the history of religion. When the musical art was developing most rapidly in other countries, poor Scotland was involved in a tangle of narrow creeds that sufficed to check utterly any tendency towards creation and expression in that form. The brand of religion that came with the Reformation was Calvinistic, not Lutheran; in the eyes of the religious leaders music was akin to debauchery, musicians were vagrants;

and that attitude persisted till it was too late for musical beginnings to have formed the broader basis on which national art must rest. In other countries the church was the home of music—not so in Scotland.

But the people could not be denied their own domestic music, and the airs of tradition have survived to form the remarkable mass that has since been collected. The authorship is, of course, unknown. David Rizzio, the ill-fated musician to Mary, Queen of Scots, has been suggested as the composer of a great number, some theorists having adopted the view that Scotsmen are totally incapable of creating such gems of song. This theory, however, is untenable. Rizzio's connection with Scotland was of too slight and transient a nature to affect the national music so profoundly. And the character of the songs is not at all Italian. Almost without exception they are written in what is known, technically, as the Pentatonic Scale: that is, the modern Diatonic Scale less the fourth and seventh. This is a sure test of the genuineness of a Scottish air, though in "The Broom o' Cowdenowes" the fourth of the scale is introduced persistently, in "Ca' the Yowes to the Knowes" the seventh is frequent. But these are the exceptions that prove the rule. The second characteristic—and this particularly in dance music—is the rhythmical figure known as the "Scottish Snap," that contagious mannerism that found its way into the music of Mozart and Gluck, and is likewise characteristic of Hungarian music. It consists of two notes so written that the first has only one-fourth of the duration of the second; the classic example is contained in that popular air, "Within a Mile of Edinburgh Toon"—which was the composition of an Englishman. The "Snap" has its uses—and abuses. For dance music it is, no doubt, an engaging figure; but it would seem that many of the old song melodies have been marred artistically by its introduction. It was the fiddle of barn music that popularised the "Snap," that same intrusive

Characteristics of National Music.

fiddle which did so much to affect the character of Scottish music, such as it was. Under the patronage of the almost legendary Neil Gow, the alien instrument insinuated its specious attractions into the hearts of country musicians, ruined much sound music, and even affected the form of the originally *legato* music of the Highland bagpipes.

Highland Song.

The folk tunes of the Highlands and Hebrides differ radically from what are generally classed as Scottish airs. Musicians owe a debt of gratitude to Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser for the care and intelligence she had devoted to the collection of *Songs of the Hebrides* in two volumes. Here is music of a very definite, very poignant character. The Highland singers appear to have absorbed from their own gloomy isles and glens a spirit of melancholy which finds artistic expression in these plaintive melodies that tell of the sorrowful, mystical temperament of the Celtic people. Musically and practically, the Hebridean airs are far in advance of the sometimes blatant songs of the Lowlands. Compare "The Seal Woman's Croon" with "Here awa', There awa'," the poignant "Clanranald's Parting Song" with the jigging "O ye'll tak' the high road, and I'll tak' the low road." The difference is fundamental; it is the difference of racial feeling, racial inspiration, racial art. Undoubtedly the Scottish songs have great basic beauty, but they have come down to us distorted by the influence of the ranting fiddle; the Hebridean songs have survived in their pure, simple form.

Bagpipe Music.

The third great class of Scottish national music is that of the bagpipes. While the *clarsach*, or Celtic harp, was the original native instrument of the Highland people, the bagpipes are of such respectable antiquity that their peculiar tunes may be considered a form of true folk-music. The scale, like that of all characteristic Scottish music, differs from the modern diatonic, the fourth being never precisely true, and the seventh flat; and this uncertainty as to semitones is characteristic of

the native vocalist. For airs in well-marked time, such as dance and marching-tunes, the clear shrill voice of the pipes is peculiarly suitable. But this form again has been sadly affected by the influence of the fiddle. The highest form of pipe-music is the *pibroch* which, like the sonata of classical art, consists of a theme with variations and is equally refined in subtlety and technique. The appeal of the pipes is not wide; an unthinking prejudice exists against it in other countries; but, like all natural instruments, it possesses a music, which for range and beauty, is not excelled by any other instrument save the piano.

It is more than strange that the homeland of a so remarkable treasury of melody should not have nurtured even one very great creator. Hamish MacCunn (1868–1916), the son of a Greenock merchant, came nearest to sublimity, and then was silent for quarter-of-a-century, dying with the wonderful promise of his youth unfulfilled. He was a genius and a prodigy. As an original creative artist, as a musician whose mind went far beyond academic versatility into the realm of great, beautiful thought, MacCunn was second only to that other inspired youth, Coleridge-Taylor, among British composers. In some respects their histories are similar. Both did their best work during the student years at the Royal College; neither came to full maturity. The lasting portion of MacCunn's output was composed ere he had reached his twentieth year —he was a mere boy when "Land of the Mountain and the Flood" was first performed—and the fact makes the long silence that followed all the more inexplicable. That there were reasons, sheer practical reasons, it cannot be doubted; MacCunn's genius was not the swift, transient flash of a prodigy but a clear, steady flame that only the bitterest circumstances could quench. It is Scotland's loss that her greatest composer lacked the fibre of a Milton in his blindness or of a deaf Beethoven.

Hamish MacCunn.

MacCunn was a Scot always, and his music is, in tonality

and sentiment, the purest and, alas! the only true reflection of northern nationality in the higher form. The best is to be found in the two overtures, "Land of the Mountain and the Flood" and "Dowie Dens of Yarrow," those inspired works that will outlast all contemporary productions. The success of the first of these was such as is rarely accorded to a British composer, and stirred the generally incredulous critic of the *Musical Times* to open his essay with a spirited "Hats off! A Genius!" Three cantatas, "Bonny Kilmeny," "Lord Ullin's Daughter" and "The Cameronian's Dream," did less to advance their composer's reputation, not through any mediocrity—for they are great works—but through the comparative unpopularity of the form. His songs are numerous, beautifully spontaneous, classical in form, but characteristic withal. MacCunn was a modern. While he learned much of treatment from Wagner, he possessed the gift of a pure, native melody that was ever instinctively Scottish. He failed, just failed to establish a true national music.

Other Composers.

The present principal of the Royal Academy of Music is a Scot and the composer of numerous cantatas and orchestral works. Sir A. C. MacKenzie is of a severely academic school, a condition that affects the character of his cultured if not highly inspired work. The spontaneity of the fragment, "Benedictus," is a truer emblem of genius than more ambitious compositions. Mr. William Wallace is more remarkable for his astonishing versatility than for the intrinsic value of his music. He is not, however, ambitious beyond his powers, and the "Freebooter Songs" are a sound contribution to national minstrelsy. It is not surprising that alien musicians have been attracted by the basic value of Scottish folk-music. Mendelssohn classicised it in his Scottish Symphony, and, more recently, Mr. Granville Bantock found the motives for a "Hebridean Symphony" ready-made in Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser's collection. But, however fine these compositions may be from the academic point of view, it would seem that the

genius necessary for the highest interpretation of a very exclusive national sentiment must needs be that of the great native composer upon whose coming Scotland still waits.

Cultivation of native music is by no means neglected. Each town of size has its musical association, choral union or choir, and serious steps are being taken that the spirit of song may not languish. The Select Choir and Orpheus Choir of Glasgow have done more than any other organisations toward the resuscitation and popularisation of the folk-music. In a broader sense, the Scottish Orchestra, with headquarters at Glasgow, is, perhaps, the most potential factor in Scotland's higher musical education. Tours through the principal towns have sown good seed, and the Saturday " pops " draw an enthusiastic and ever-growing band of music-lovers to the uncomfortable benches of St. Andrew's Halls. The will towards a more adequate expression grows slowly but surely.

The Drama.

The art of the drama in Scotland is, like music, in a state of arrested development and through the same original cause of religious disapproval. In the eyes of the Puritan forefathers it also was licentious, and the traces of that disapprobation have survived even to this twentieth century. There are, among the lower middle classes, douce burghers who strictly forbid attendance at theatres to their children, and the remainder, however open-minded, is quite apathetic towards the stage and the development of the art of the stage. Vaudeville flourishes, of course; the industrial population of Scotland is credited with unique discretion in all that pertains to this lowest form of dramatic enterprise; but the legitimate stage is poorly supported by the mass and, indeed, might disappear but for the enthusiasm of an exiguous group of serious playgoers. A famous name, a play of repute or notoriety will certainly attract patronage for a limited period, but any sustained effort to interest the masses in national drama or a national stage is, alas ! almost foredoomed to failure. Not yet is Scotland prepared to take the drama seriously.

These are sweeping statements, but the truth has been demonstrated only too clearly within recent years. A serious attempt was made, and that attempt failed. The Scottish Repertory Company was established in Glasgow on the general lines of Miss Horniman's Manchester enterprise, but with particular aims at fostering and establishing a national theatre where the work of native dramatists might stand their first trials. For a time, all went well. A small house was acquired, a capable company assembled and, with the best examples of modern work, the venture contrived to exist with fair success. Typical plays by Shaw, Barrie, Somerset Maugham and other moderns were interspersed with works from the pens of new writers. But it soon became apparent that, though local patrons might fill the house for a performance of "Man and Superman," they were not interested in novelties; for them the existence or non-existence of a national drama was a matter of little importance. The Repertory Company struggled nobly through several seasons, endeavouring to catch the public ear with an established success and retain it for the hearing of a native production. But the inevitable came to pass. In the spring of 1914 it had to be acknowledged that the Scottish Repertory Theatre was doomed to failure, and the doors closed on a brave attempt to interest the people of Scotland in native dramatic art. Only by a cultured few was the closure regretted; the general public remained apathetic. For them, all was yet well. Glasgow had still her half-dozen music-halls and her homes of melodrama and musical comedy.

The Repertory Effort.

But the fault cannot be laid absolutely at the doors of Glasgow. The shame of that failure—for an artistic shame it was—must be shared by Scotland as a whole. At least, Glasgow had made her attempt, while Edinburgh, the reputed home of national culture, stood aloof, content, like every other city and town of Scotland, with her vaudeville houses. It proved that not

Transition.

Glasgow alone but the entire nation was as yet unprepared; the hour had not yet come when Scotland could maintain her own theatre. The causes are not far to seek. The people of the north, even in the most modernised Lowland areas, are yet in a stage of transition. Artistic ideas are being absorbed but gradually, and the process is far from completion; many years of wider relationship and enlightenment must pass ere the change will come about. The Scots of to-day are intellectually hybrid. The old, self-contained national sentiment was intolerant but it was honest, and weakened by the encroachment of those cosmopolitan conceptions which must come with ever-growing commerce and ever-widening relationship, it is only too often crude. Until the happy mean of evolution has arrived, the higher form of new arts must remain caviare to the general.

Vernacular Influence.

It is typical of a people in this stage of intellectual development that the early symptoms of awakening should take a low form. To this fact we owe the *soi-disant* "Scotch Comedian" and highly-coloured plays of the vernacular type of "Bunty Pulls the Strings." The deterrent effect on Scotland of these phenomena cannot be over-emphasised, particularly with regard to the former. These emissaries of burlesque have much to answer for, though, fortunately, the stage Scotsman is not taken seriously. But the everlasting pity of it is that theirs is a false art, that their popularity is so vast, and that —however discriminating their audiences—a false impression is conveyed, be it ever so slight. The alien auditor cannot judge of the verisimilitude of the "Scotch Comedian's" performance. If not convinced, should he not half-believe that the typical Scot favours a pseudo-Highland costume (quite inaccurate as to detail), speaks the coarsest variety of Lowland dialect, and finds his heart's pleasure in whiskey and marriage with a lady whose salient attraction lies in her rosy cheeks? Seriously, the question is of importance. These comedians are almost the sole representatives of Scotland

on the stage. Their equipment is false, their representation of their countrymen's characteristics a travesty—and yet they form to-day a standard which, however negligible from an intellectual point of view, must be raised if dramatic art in Scotland is ever to prosper. Artists are in a class distinct from the masses; but it is from these masses that the art must evolve, and a serious, a sure dramatic art cannot be evolved so long as the taste of the masses lies in the direction of the lowest vaudeville.

John Home.

The relative achievements in Scottish music and Scottish drama form an illuminating comparison. The Scots may be accounted an inherently musical race, since only a musical race could have produced such a wealth of folk-music. Yet the achievements in the higher forms of that art are almost negligible. On the other hand, the nation would seem to possess little instinct or adaptability for the drama, and yet the dramatic product of Scotsmen is of infinitely more lasting importance than the corresponding results in music. So far back as the middle of the eighteenth century, John Home, the son of the Town Clerk of Leith, was a figure of some note even among his great contemporaries in play-writing. He was a minister of the Scottish Church but forfeited his status as such, when, on the production of his first play, "Douglas," he was deposed by order of the general Assembly. The drama of "Douglas" was first rejected by Garrick but created a great sensation on its production in Edinburgh in 1756. Next year, it appeared in London and again achieved a success. Home's later plays "The Siege of Aquileia," "Alonzo" and "Alfred" have not survived, but "Douglas" continued to be played till comparatively recent times. If, as a whole, the drama has died a natural death, one speech at least remains famous—

> "My name is Norval. On the Grampian Hills
> My father fed his flocks. . . "

From time to time some great figures in Scottish literature

have included dramatic writing among their secondary activities. Robert Louis Stevenson had ambitions in this direction, and essayed the art in collaboration with the late W. E. Henley. As plays they are not notable. Stevenson's interest lay too much in the personality of the central figures and neglected the technicalities of stage production. Deacon Brodie and Macaire of the plays of these names, with Pew of "Admiral Guinea," are great creations in Stevenson's characteristic literary manner; but no play can be carried through by the most masterly figure unless supported by the *nuances* of stage-craft. And it was in this respect that "Deacon Brodie," "Macaire," and "Admiral Guinea" failed as dramatic works. They are still read for the sake of Stevenson's writing in them, but they seldom appear except on the stages of faithful Repertory companies. John Davidson was sometimes a playwright, but always a poet, and the qualification has doomed "Bruce," "Smith," and "Godfrida" except as works of literature. His genius was not of the stage in the modern sense, and none of his dramatic writings has survived any long playing career.

R. L. Stevenson.

Of living dramatists Sir J. M. Barrie is by far the greatest Scotsman, and his work, again, is not so peculiarly Scottish as British. With the single exception of the dramatised version of "The Little Minister," his plays are of an order too great to be provincial. Only in one particular—his peculiar, quiet, whimsical humour—do "The Professor's Love Story" or "What Every Woman Knows" betray his northern origin. The reason may, perhaps, lie in the fact that there is no model from which the dramatic works of Scotsmen may be judged in their relation to Scotland; but the Barrie plays of themselves owe nothing to the native country of their author.

Sir J. M. Barrie.

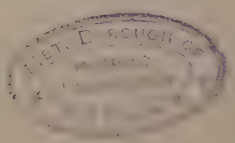
Among the higher critics at least one Scotsman is a notable figure. As a translator of Ibsen's plays, Mr. William Archer has accomplished some of the finest work in this delicate

labour; but it is mainly as critic that he is best known in modern dramatic circles. The *Life of Macready, Masks or Faces, Study and Stage* and numerous other books have earned him the highest reputation as a sympathetic and discerning critic, and one whose cultured writings, apart from the question of technical interest, must survive as literature.

Mr. William Archer.

Great native exponents of the drama are not numerous. The natural reserve of the Scottish temperament is not at all calculated to produce natural actors or actresses; but he who is probably the greatest since Irving and his natural successor on the Shakespearean stage is of Scottish birth. Sir Johnston Forbes Robertson is one of the most dignified and natural actors of the present day. His methods, his interpretations, and his diction are in strong contrast with the corresponding qualities in his great predecessor. Irving's " Hamlet " was strongly emotional, often fiery, deliberately tragical and manneristic; the " Hamlet " of Forbes Robertson is an infinitely more subjective study, calm, dreamingly introspective and almost suave, with an inherent tragedy that manifests itself only passively. There is so much in the voice of the living actor that his diction is an artistic delight of itself. Forbes Robertson restates the beauty of a beautiful language. Of a younger and more modern school, Mr. Matheson Lang has risen to more than transient fame with his conspicuously thorough character studies. His most successful appearance was in the title part of " Mr. Wu," where his intense personality found a great opportunity. Few who witnessed the young actor in that *rôle* can ever forget the sense of insistent evil with which he imbued the part.

Sir J. Forbes Robertson.



CHAPTER XI

THE UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOOLS

It is a convention to regard Scotland as a particularly well-educated nation with a soundness of system and excellence of results second only to those of the highly specialised German Empire. The belief, however, is rather too idealistic for truth. It would be ridiculous to postulate that the Scot is better educated than his southern brother, for, if the peasant of the north seems more deeply versed and more deeply concerned in affairs than his English counterpart, the comparison is not one of scholastic systems but of national mentalities. The Scottish peasant has for centuries been forced by circumstances to think for himself, and the enquiring habit of mind is inherited. But the educational system of Scotland does possess many qualities that are unique, even if only with regard to the systematic provision of scholastic establishments of all grades. And the greater distinction of these is that no other country had evolved, at such an early period of history, a so comprehensive educational equipment.

In the Church.

The beginnings of learning were, of course, in the Church; but authorities differ as to the chronological precedence of the monastic schools and the Universities respectively. Both were established by ecclesiasticism for obvious purposes, but as the Universities were for long the only vital centres of education in Scotland, it is convenient to consider them the earliest institutions of the kind. Founded in the sole intention of instructing the priesthood, they gradually opened their doors to the sons of the nobility and retained this exclusiveness until the Reformation overset the old systems. But the Universities did not remain altogether narrow and provincial

in scope. During the period of their connection with the Catholic Church, the Auld Alliance with France was at its extremest point of cordiality. Continental influences worked on both administrative and instructive systems of the northern colleges, and all the educational strongholds of France were open to the Scottish student who aspired to learning beyond that which it was in the power of his *alma mater* to give. This adventurous trait, it is interesting to note, is yet discernible in the erudite Scot. The period was one of great advancement in culture, and a present generation can be grateful to the Reformers for this: that their outburst put the learning of the Universities at the disposal of all classes.

Four Universities.

Earliest and smallest of the four principal seats of learning, the University of St. Andrews was founded in 1411 by the bishop of the diocese, and that establishment was legalised two years later by a bull of Pope Benedict XIII. Three separate corporations made up the early constitution, but these are now amalgamated into one corporate body. Glasgow University was founded by papal bull in 1450, followed in 1494 by the establishment of King's College at Aberdeen. The Marischal College of Aberdeen, now united with the main body of the University, is a century younger. The University of Edinburgh, now the largest, was not founded until 1582. Of these foundations, Glasgow and Edinburgh are now richer, better attended, and altogether more economically important than the two that overlook the North Sea. Glasgow is doubly interesting as having a College for Women, Queen Margaret's, attached. If Universities can be said to have specialised, those of St. Andrews and Aberdeen have latterly devoted themselves in some degree to the science of education, and together produce more teachers, as such, than the larger universities. Edinburgh is the great medical school, though that position has been challenged by Glasgow, which can boast, in addition, an able department of science. The

thirty-two-year-old University of Dundee is now affiliated with St. Andrews and is chiefly concerned with specialised technical education.

Traces of Mediaevalism.

The Scottish Universities are true relics of mediaevalism, inasmuch as their systems of government and teaching exist to-day much in the form in which they were imported from France in the fifteenth century. University Acts of various dates have altered administrative details, advancing civilisation and changing world-thought have diverted the courses of study, but the channel of authority has never in these 500 years been altered in vital respect, and the nomenclature is still that of the Middle Ages. Like the English foundations, the Scottish University has as its supreme head a Chancellor who holds office for life. In earlier days, the diocesan bishop was invariably chosen for the post, but later centuries have robbed this official of his more intimate functions, and a statesman of eminence, wholly a figure-head, is generally chosen by the electing body. Junior to the Chancellor and, like him, the holder of an office much decayed in effectiveness, is the Rector whose election is in the hands of the students. The "Rectorial" (election) is a momentous event in the northern University when the law of "might is right" controls the issue of the day. For elective purposes, the students are divided into "nations" representing their geographical origins; Glasgow, for instance, comprises the four nations of *Glottiana*, *Transforthiana*, *Rotheisiana* and *Loudoniania*. My Lord Rector was once the protector of his little republic, but, that necessity being now dispensed with, the choice is made from any source. Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig adorns the office in St. Andrews; M. Raymond Poincaré the corresponding position in Glasgow. The Principal—who is *ex officio* Vice-Chancellor—is appointed by the Crown. A Dean of Faculties is a distinguished layman more or less concerned with University finances, though the duties of his office, as originally constituted, included the direction of studies.

Higher and immediate government is, of course, vested in the Principal and his various courts and senates. Supreme administration, educational, social and financial, is the privilege of the University Court, nominally presided over by the Rector and including several lay representatives. The *Senatus Academicus*, consisting of the Principal and his professorial henchmen, is entrusted with the direction of studies and discipline of the University. In effect, the Senate acts as advisory committee to the all-powerful Court, whose laymen members may be counted on to judge of the practicability of any measures. Lastly, the Faculties control the localised affairs of their respective departments: Arts, Science, Law and Divinity. Parliamentary representation is the affair of a General Council which includes all members, that is, the Chancellor, the members of the Court, professors and graduates. The four Scottish Universities form two constituencies: one, Edinburgh and St. Andrews, the other, Glasgow and Aberdeen. Student-life is articulate in the Students' Representative Council which represents its electors in all matters affecting their interests, and controls the Union, the magazine, and other domestic institutions.

Government.

However much these administrative forms may vary from the English system, it is in the respective instructional methods that we meet with the really striking points of difference. The tutorial system of Oxford and Cambridge is calculated on the value of direct, personal relations between student and instructor, but that consideration does not enter into the Scottish scheme. The students of northern Universities receive instruction, as at school, in classes under the personal mastership of the professor. These classes are often very large, and it is quite outside the power of the professor to ensure undivided attention to the lectures which he delivers day after day throughout the session. In practical subjects, the lectures are reinforced by the more personal instruction

System of Instruction.

of demonstrators, but beyond that the matter lies absolutely with the student. Opinion differs as to the relative efficiency of the systems—even the many professors of English training in the Scottish Universities cannot see eye to eye, some advocating the introduction of the tutorial system, others seeking a combination of both. It is certain that the Scottish professor would not willingly sacrifice the prestige which is his under the existing conditions, while it is equally clear—particularly with regard to scientific training—that the professorial scheme does not make for the best practical results. But a change is not the simple undertaking that it may appear to be. Conventional opposition might easily be encountered and vanquished, but the necessity of increased expenditure and special legislation militate against its immediate accomplishment.

A Social Question.

A remarkable change has come over the nature of study in Scotland during the last few decades. The stranger must understand, in the first place, that the Scottish Universities have lost their pristine exclusiveness, and that St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Edinburgh, though venerable in age and achievement, are far from possessing the social prestige of Oxford and Cambridge. The Reformation may or may not have brought about the actual change, but it has certainly been the rule for centuries that the northern foundations are open to high and low, rich and poor alike. This fact reacted in diverse ways on both administration and curriculum, but more particularly on the duration of session and on the social life of the student. Before the days of the Carnegie benefice, the Scottish University had but one session of six months, the remaining half-year being necessarily free to permit of the ploughman or labouring student earning the wherewithal for his winter studies. The legendary Scottish student with his bag of meal for sustenance during the session is by no means the figment of picturesque imagination. The type, in fact, was at one time as frequent as any other.

Most of these lads were destined for the ministry, and, following on the demand for preachers that resulted from the Disruption, the courses at the Scottish Universities during last century were largely designed to accommodate the aspirant in divinity. This influx of theological students, no doubt, held the Universities together at a time when the sons of richer men were drifting to English foundations and secondary education was not so far developed as to produce a regular flow of candidates for degrees. But times and requirements have changed. The demand for clergymen no longer strains the resources of the departments of Arts, and the stronger tendency is towards Science and Medicine and more general professional education. Here the Universities are face to face with a problem of conscience, of aesthetics. The practical requirements of a modern community are in the balance against the claims of culture and the more idealistic enlightenment. Are the humanities to go by the board and science hold absolute sway? Does the real value of classical education justify the expense of retaining so many teachers of Greek and Latin? Or can science and classics be happily blended in a manner that can satisfy present and future requirements? These are the queries that exercise the University Councils of Scotland. There is no place here for expression of personal opinion, and the observer can but put it on record that, so far as present appearances are validly indicative, modernism seems to win the day.

Classics and Science.

This development has been most notoriously assisted by the free education which is available to all and sundry through the trust fund gifted by Mr. Andrew Carnegie. It is no wonderful achievement to qualify for the benefice; an entrance examination, a guarantee of more or less straitened circumstances—and the Trust does the rest. There are obvious merits and obvious flaws in the system. It may and does afford the privilege of university education to many who would

The Carnegie Benefice.

otherwise remain in the rut; but, at the same time, it is open to abuse in various ways. The old-time peasant student must sacrifice much ere he could afford the fees that paid for his eager study, but that grim and valuable experience is no longer a necessary prelude to the course in Arts and Science. Under the old system, when learning was acquired only by sacrifice and sweat of brow, few mediocrities found their way to the Registrar's office. But how can such a test be applied under a system that is, as it stands to-day, only mildly discriminating? The Carnegie Fund is, at the present time, administered as a charity and not—which is infinitely more desirable—as the prize of intellectual distinction. Free education is an unqualified boon to a community in Scotland's present stage of social evolution, but the observer cannot fail to note grave dangers in its overgenerous administration. A better standard is achieved in competitions for those bursaries and scholarships with which the Scottish Universities are so liberally endowed.

The Woman Student.

And what of the woman-student? Her admission dates only from the early 'nineties but, in that short period, the blue-stocking is to be found in very considerable numbers at the northern foundations. In 1910–11, Glasgow counted 682 ladies as against 2,108 men, and the female proportion grows year by year. Generally there is no separation of classes, the ladies attending lectures with the men and under similar circumstances. It is to be very gravely doubted if this system is guaranteed to conserve the traditions and sentiment that are so essential to the useful existence of a University. Except in the case of Queen Margaret's College at Glasgow, no separate establishment exists for the exclusive training of female students, and even the western venture is far from being a self-contained institution.

The Oxford or Cambridge undergraduate would find himself strangely lost at a Scottish University, where there exists little or no social life to preserve the corporate spirit

of the foundation. At one time the Scot lived, like his English brother, within the walls of his college, but that custom was found too expensive for the average student from the country and died out more than a century past. The smaller East Coast Universities of St. Andrews and Aberdeen have contrived to retain something of the desirable social intercourse, but the Lowland establishments, Glasgow and Edinburgh, with their thousands of students, have nothing to hold the *alumni* together in one close corporation. The student lives where he pleases, at home or in lodgings, does what he pleases with his spare time, and authority is satisfied that his attendance at lectures is reasonably regular and punctual. Unions—which are of very recent establishment in Scottish Universities—have not yet proved the solution of the modern problem of social student life, tending as they do to mere superficiality of intercourse; their value as social units is further handicapped by the strangely varying positions in society of Scottish students. But the Union and the Students' Representative Council are steps in the right direction. As matters stand, reciprocity moves in restricted cycles at the northern University; the football set, the O.T.C. set, the magazine set, the Alpha, the Beta, the Gamma, the Delta and other alphabetical formations—these are sufficient unto themselves. Under one wise, universal Union they may well develop into a corporate whole, restoring something of the *esprit de corps* that is so essential and that has been so sadly lacking of latter years.

University Life.

Next to the Universities in point of seniority are the Secondary Schools. Like the higher establishments they grew out of the Church, one in connection with the diocese of St. Andrews being referred to in the ecclesiastical statutes of a date so early as 1120. The first legal mention, however, is contained in an enactment of James IV which called on " barons and freeholders of substance " to see to the schooling of their

The Secondary Schools.

eldest sons and to keep them in the existing foundations until "completely founded" in "perfect Latin" and other accomplishments. The previous existence and the secondary status of these schools is implied in the statute. There is little doubt that, whereas the monastic colleges had existed solely for the training of clergymen, the Act of 1496 aimed at the education of upper-class students for the public service. From these beginnings, the Secondary Schools—then the "Grammar" or "Latin" schools—waxed strong in numbers, and were fairly widely distributed throughout the larger towns. At the Reformation they passed from the authority of the Church into that of the local town councils, and remained under that form of government until finally taken over by the Education Department, late in the nineteenth century. With true reforming zeal, the Presbyterian Reformers' *First Book of Discipline* had propounded a plan for the establishment in every "notable town" of a "college for logic, rhetoric and the tongues," but the scheme failed to materialise. A jealous aristocracy pocketed the funds which were destined for its welfare. In spite of that, however, the burgh councils did much to support existing schools and to erect new ones; merchant companies and private benefactors endowed institutions and hospitals; and in 1886, when the final transference took place, the Scottish Education Department took under its wing a very complete equipment of higher grade institutions.

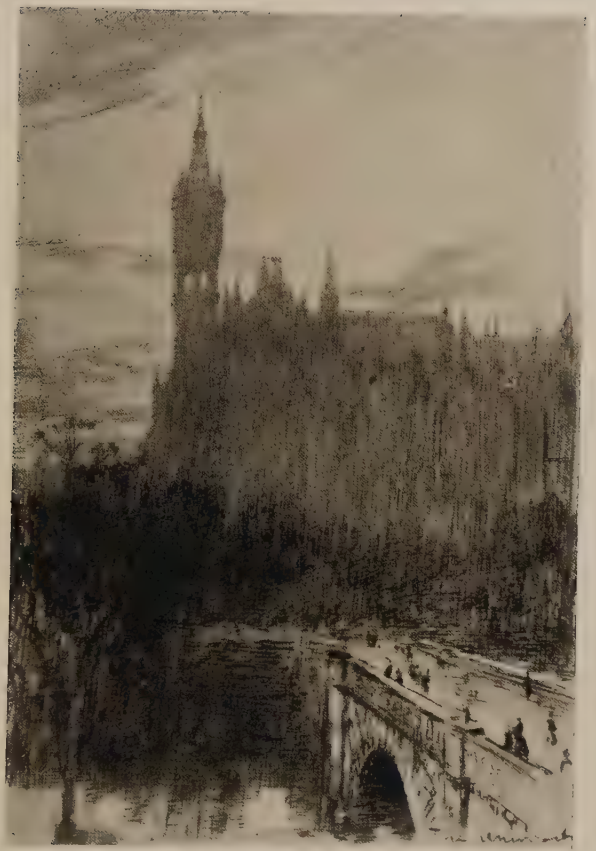
With the new *régime* there came considerable changes in administration and educational standard. The Department set up an exacting system of inspection of these schools under its immediate control and, further, volunteered to perform a similar duty in connection with private or proprietary concerns—an offer of which most self-respecting bodies were eager to take advantage. Later it instituted the "Leaving Certificate" examination which is now, in its higher grade, the passport to the Universities and to apprenticeship in the professions.

Under the Government.

The standard is high, and the granting of the certificate by no means a matter of course; its usefulness to the young scholar is beyond cavil.

Educational Standards.

While Oxford and Cambridge rely mainly on the public schools to augment their student-population, the supply for the Scottish Universities is on a very different social—if not educational—level. With the exception of a few proprietary institutions, the Secondary Schools of Scotland are, at the same time Board Schools, attended by scholars of the lower or "middle" classes and exacting fees on only a moderate scale. Most are well provided with bursaries, open to elementary scholars of the district, and few aim at social exclusiveness. Such exclusiveness is, indeed, well-nigh impossible of achievement in such a democratic community as the Scottish Lowlands, and its existence is but a manifestation of the unjustifiable snobbery that grows with the worldly success of the middle classes. In addition to the fee-paying institutions, the Education Department has been much occupied in erecting Higher Grade Schools to provide free education on the secondary standard. It is not easy to draw an illuminating comparison between the relative excellences of secondary education in England and Scotland. The Chief Inspector for Scotland complains that the standard in classical learning is not so high as is desirable, and his verdict is justifiable, inasmuch as the northern attainment is certainly less distinguished than that of corresponding schools in England. If there is any specialisation under the Scottish system, it is almost entirely on matters scientific and modern, and the classical side might well be utterly neglected did not the Universities and the professions insist on a moderate standard of knowledge of that kind. Louder and louder the great engineering and ship-building trades of the Lowlands call for highly trained technical specialists, and the Technical Colleges claim an ever-increasing share of the finished product of the Secondary Schools. The student with an aptitude for



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GLASGOW UNIVERSITY

the classics is very liable to suffer for the tendencies of the mass.

The Public Schools.

Scotland has no effective substitutes for the great public schools that form such an integral portion of the higher educational machinery of England, and the fashion grows among wealthier people to send their sons to the historical southern foundations and thence to Oxford or Cambridge. The boarding-schools of Scotland are few in number, and of them, perhaps, three can be ranked as public schools in the sense that Rugby or Winchester or Cheltenham are public schools: Loretto at Musselburgh, dating from the eighteenth century, Fettes College in Edinburgh, of last century, and Trinity College, Glenalmond founded in 1841, "to embrace objects not attainable in any public foundation hitherto established in Scotland, viz., the combination of general education with domestic discipline and systematic religious superintendence." Trinity College is governed by the Scottish Episcopal Church, but is not now devoted, as it was originally, to theological training. The domestic arrangements of these foundations are based generally on the English system, and the educational ideal approximates more nearly to the southern public school standard than any other in Scotland. It is worthy of note that the English Universities claim the larger share of their intellectual product.

Endowed Schools.

Edinburgh is almost unique in the possession of many distinguished Secondary Schools with rich endowments and under control of the Merchant Company or other bodies distinct from the School Board. In 1882 the endowments were reorganised and the establishments remodelled under a Commission. A "monastic" system had previously distinguished such foundations as George Heriot's Hospital, Donaldson's Hospital and others, but the Commission abolished the residence of foundationers, made certain financial provision in recompense, and opened them as day-schools to all on the payment of

moderate fees. With George Watson's Colleges for Boys and Ladies, and Daniel Stewart's College of the Merchant Company, these hospitals form a redoubtable force of high-class schools, the very best and soundest of their kind in Scotland.

The youngest but by no means the weakest element of the Scottish Educational System is the Elementary School.

Elementary Education.

This is verily the child of the Reformation, for, if higher scholastic training was available under the Catholic rule, it was the Presbyterians who were sufficiently astute to foresee that popular education would give strength to their campaign. Their early plans were ambitious—more ambitious than the Reforming finances warranted—and not until sixty years had passed did the Privy Council order the establishment of a grammar-school in every parish supported, under compulsion, by the heritors thereof. Charles I handed the system over to the Episcopal Church, subsequent strife delayed the fulfilment of the measure, and only at the end of the seventeenth century, when the Presbyterians were again in power, was the Act passed which native sentiment has dubbed the "Charter of Scottish Education." This was the real institution which spread the benefit of elementary education throughout the land. Naturally, the dominie did not penetrate far into the Highlands till long after the '45, but the Act of 1696 gave the Lowlands a reasonably universal equipment of parish schools and laid the foundation of Scotland's reputation as an educated state.

Matters continued on this plan until a Commission of 1818 revealed the fact that the Church—which still controlled educational destinies—had been living in a dream of false contentment with the existing conditions. And with characteristic vigour the Presbyterian armour was buckled on to fight the swart forces of ignorance. Aided by State grants, more schools were established and the Highlands further penetrated. But all was not yet well with elementary education. The Disruption

Developments.

created a new class of parish school under the Free Church, and these were too often planned in sectarian rivalry rather than with honest intentions towards enlightenment. Overlapping of authorities was frequent, bitterness rampant, and at last, the year 1861 saw the right to appoint teachers transferred from the Church to the Universities. Even with that very sensible change, the state of affairs was far from satisfactory. It was revealed by a Commission that only four-fifths of available children were at school, that their attendance was highly irregular, and that barely one-half of the schools were regularly inspected. Drastic reform was necessary; and it came with the Education Act of 1872 which scrapped everything that was faulty in the old conflicting systems and set up an absolutely new and well-ordered machinery. With minor variations and additions, that is the system of the present day.

Elective School Boards, a universal rate, and compulsory attendance, were the three main elements of the new scheme.

Existing Form of Government.

The Board, with a three years' life, is responsible to the Education Department for adequate school accommodation and to its constituents for management, appointment and discharge of teachers, and the regulation of teaching—a fundamentally democratic institution. The sectarian element is absolutely eradicated, and religious instruction is administered under a conscience clause. Denominational schools, however, continue to exist, though these are few in number and adhere almost exclusively to the Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches; they are not outside the jurisdiction of the Boards. Compulsory attendance is assured by that clause of the Act which runs: " It shall be the duty of every parent to provide elementary education in reading and writing and arithmetic for his children, between five and fourteen years of age." With regard to finance, the school rates, as assessed by each Board for its peculiar district, are supplemented by State grants. These were originally calculated on attendance,

teaching efficiency, class excellence in elementary subjects, and the individual attainment of scholars in higher and more specialised studies; but the defects of such a system were obviously a hard-and-fast standard, the school as a grant-earning concern rather than as a rational educational element, and the consequent neglect of both deficient and unusually gifted children. That arrangement did much harm in the thirty years during which it existed, and before the system of " standards " and " marks " was abolished. The teacher is a free-agent now, with discretionary powers in regard to the training of his individual pupils, and the inspector is less the exacting assessor of standards on the percentage basis than the broad-minded patron of more uniform excellence in more general subjects.

Modern Elements.

But out of the existing system arise some controversial points. Free education is compulsory education, and compulsory education abrogates the parents' just and proper choice of subjects for the instruction of his child. On what lines then is an education department, or a school board, or a headmaster to evolve a scheme that will please all and will satisfy, moreover, the social and commercial requirements of the age ? The existing system is a wonderful advance on that introduced by the original Education Act; reading, writing and arithmetic are, naturally, the basic teachings, but it is in regard to extra and specialised subjects that we find points wherein reforms are urgent. One can note the influences of newer systems like that of Montessori. The elementary scholar is now instructed in minor accomplishments—clay-modelling and light, decorative manual work—that are wholly superficial and unlikely to be of any service to either their possessor or the community of which he will be a member. No doubt, the notion tends to a more aesthetic teaching, but it is over-elastic and vague to a degree of insufficiency. Breadth is a desirable quality in all education; but when it interferes with complete knowledge of rudiments, " the three R's," when it tends to overload

the mentally deficient with only the glimmerings of multifarious accomplishments—then the time has come for reform and re-arrangement, calculated on an estimate of the real moral and practical need of the community. The problem narrows down to a very fine issue. It is obvious that the elementary system of to-day is not—as is more or less intended—a fair compromise between traditional and modern naturalistic methods of teaching, and it would seem that the ideal should be wholly one or the other. And since departure from tradition is almost unthinkable in Scotland, could not more useful and equally educative subjects be found than, say, clay-modelling ?

The Position of the Teacher.

Before the matter can be adequately encountered, the Education Department should face and settle a fundamental flaw in the administration. The Scottish teacher is grossly underpaid. His careful and costly training, his delicate work among the young, his importance as a social unit are recompensed on a scale that would be unthinkable in less exacting professions. The history of Scottish education affords instructive glimpses of the national estimate of teaching value. Under the famous "Charter" of 1696, the emolument of the schoolmaster was laid down at a minimum of 100 merks Scot, that is, about £5 1s. 6d., and at a maximum of double that figure. One hopes that the salaries were always paid, though there are grave doubts that the heritors frequently failed to implement their obligations. But the dominie of those days was not always a schoolman; a stone-breaker of literary tendencies might be appointed more frequently than the M.A. of St. Andrews. He possessed, moreover, certain perquisites; gifts of material were expected from parents, and church offices—session-clerk, precentor or beadle—were usually open to him *ex officio;* but the post was never lucrative. With the passage of time, money decreased in purchasing value and salaries failed to increase in scale, until 1802, when the minimum and maximum were fixed at 300 and 400 merks respectively—

£16 13s. 4d. and £22 5s.—with a two-roomed house and a quarter-acre garden. Sixty years later, these figures rose respectively to £35 and £70—not an over-generous scale for the mid-nineteenth century. At the present day, the teacher's emolument is yet hopelessly out of proportion with modern standards. At the best, an assistant master could hardly rise beyond £200, a chief assistant beyond £300, while the exceedingly rare prize of headmastership is seldom worth more than £500 a year. Hundreds of millions have been spent on education, but scandalously little has been done to make teaching a profession worthy of men and women of character and ability.

Many alterations still fall to be made on the Scottish educational machinery as regards both administrative and instructive details. A larger and wider unit than the local Board is eminently desirable, since the success of that system in England and Wales has gravely imperilled Scotland's reputation as the educational paradise. That, with the problem of salaries, curricula, and the other matters that have been referred to, must engage the attention of a department that has, till now, proved itself to possess vigour and a broad mind. Whatever defects exist are remediable, and the great fact is always with us that education in the north reaches all, that all have equal opportunities of reaching the highest pinnacle of University scholarship; that it is, in short, a splendidly comprehensive democratic institution.

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION AND THE PEOPLE

THE interested visitor, eager to partake in public worship according to the forms of the Presbyterian Church, finds himself in something of a quandary when, on a Sunday morning in Scotland, he scans the list of sacred edifices devoted to that creed. At the head of the catalogue stands "Church of Scotland" and the designations of its various strongholds, then "United Free Church of Scotland," probably boasting more congregations than any other sect, then "Free Church of Scotland" or "Gaelic Free Church of Scotland"—here the native will assist with an illuminative explanation regarding the "Wee Free's"—then "Reformed Presbyterian Church," and lastly, "Evangelical Union Church." Which then of these brands of Presbyterianism is to afford our stranger the clearest and most adequate view of Scotland's particular belief? What, he may well ask, separates the United Free from the Free Church? And wherein is one of the sects Reformed? By these questions he invites explanations of the most involved problem in all the involved institutions of the north; he has opened up old sores, revived old bitternesses, and given new strength to many foolish old prejudices.

The stranger most naturally elects to visit the Church of Scotland, which, he knows, is the Parish Church, the State Church. Let us consider him adventurous and take it that he participates in a service of the United Free Church on the same day; and he will decide, most certainly and rightly, that in not one single respect of creed or form do these denominations differ. The service of the Evangelical Union Church will show few points of divergence, though creed may rest on other bases. Only in the Reformed and Free Presbyterian Churches does he come upon really striking departures

from the general form. Here is Calvinism, rigorous and unbending, here is the obvious struggle against ritual, here the lengthy prayer and the simple Psalm, hymns, ancient or otherwise, being strictly discountenanced. Some three different forms, then, and five denominations exist to meet the spiritual requirements of the church-going Scot. It is all very strange, but very characteristic of Scotland in the religious vein.

Again the unwilling reader must be invited to a consideration of historical antecedents, and to bear in mind that the most disturbing events of Scottish history were brought about through schism. The Reformation displaced Roman Catholicism for ever as the national religion, and gave Scotland her Presbyterianism which has lived—in spite of the Anglicising efforts of the Stewart Kings—to be the one dominant religion in the north, based firmly on the settlement of 1689. It was all very well for the Scots to have a new, firm faith until their intellectual peculiarities began to make themselves manifest. The dearest privilege of Presbyterianism is the right of the congregation to elect its own minister, but in 1712 the secular government was so ill-advised as to pass a Patronage Act, vesting the rights of appointment in the landed proprietors. This act of legislation was bitterly opposed, caused numerous immediate secessions, and led up to the last great event in Scottish history, the Disruption of 1843. The Free Church "walked out." Ministers innumerable sacrificed their charges, their congregations suffered a mild form of martyrdom all for the sake of religious liberty, and, full of energy and zeal, formed a new church which, aiming at truth, encouraged her youth in study and sacrificed worldly prosperity for spiritual improvement. And thus were the two main divisions formed: the old Church of Scotland, State-aided and State-elected, the Free Church, self-supporting and self-elective.

Schism.

In 1874 the right of patronage was removed by Lord

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GLASGOW CATHEDRAL

Beaconsfield who, it would seem, was moved so to do by considerations of policy rather than by any regard he might have held for the religious rights of Scotland. But this abolition brought about little change in the policy and none in the belief of the Church of Scotland which remained the Established Church of the Kingdom, founded on the Confession of Faith adopted as standard in 1643. The Free Church was, as yet, her only serious rival, for none of the other secessions—save perhaps the United Presbyterian Church —possessed any considerable following. And in 1900, the position of the Free Church was further strengthened by union with the second strongest denomination without the State Church.

Old Sects—The Free Churches.

The United Presbyterian Church was a body of respectable antiquity, its original foundation having taken place in 1733. From time to time, it had gathered under its wing various seceding sects, including "Old" and "New Lights," "Original Seceders," "Anti-burghers," and other offspring of the polemical Scottish mind, till, at the end of last century, it grew to be almost as strong as the Free Church. There was little to separate the two sects, and, realising that union was strength, they joined fortunes, forming together the powerful and popular United Free Church. But observe how, in Scotland, schism grows out of union. The point of view of all Scots seceders is that their secession forms the real, the only church, while those who persist in their adherence are invariably considered false in principle. In 1900 then, the overwhelming majority of Free churchmen, having agreed to union, claimed the funds of their old denomination; but the adherents to the earlier *régime* held that they *were* still the Free Church and therefore trustees of the funds of the Free Church. Litigation followed, and, in the House of Lords, the "Wee Free's," the minority, carried their case. It was soon apparent, however, that the property now in the hands of the adherents was preposterously large for such an exiguous denomination, with

the result that, in 1905, a Commission was appointed to allocate finally both funds and churches. The " Wee Free's " have emerged from the conflict rich in material and impoverished in numbers; the United Free Church is numerically far superior and financially inferior.

Other Denominations.

A word as to the minor Presbyterian denominations. The Evangelical Union divides from the main body of Presbyterianism over certain theological aspects of the universality of atonement and the ability of man to believe the Gospel. It was founded at Kilmarnock in 1843 by four seceding ministers—including the father of Sir James Guthrie, P.R.S.A.—and a number of laymen. Its utmost strength in Scotland is about ninety congregations. The Reformed Presbyterian Church is an austere sect, the adherents of an older Reformed church, most of whose members amalgamated in 1878 with the Free Church.

To the stranger, this centrifugal tendency of Presbyterianism is somewhat incomprehensible. The Church of England, the one universal State Church, may possess adherents to High Church principles and to Low Church principles, but the main body of Episcopalianism is united, free from direct schism; there are no separate and arbitrarily distinctive denominations of the Church of England as there are of the Church of Scotland. And the position is all the more astonishing when it is realised that the northern sects differ but slightly in fundamental belief, and widely only on the seemingly unimportant matter of church government. The " Wee Free's " are a strict body, true enough; they are nearer the Covenanting type than any other—strict in observances, tenacious of belief, and self-contained by reason of their comparative opulence; but they represent a very small proportion of Presbyterians. On the other hand, the numerically powerful denominations—Church of Scotland and United Free Church—have almost identical views. Both are modern, broad-minded and tolerant; they are kept apart only by

considerations of government and finance. The continued separation of sects is little else than the effect of the more or less perverse workings of the Scottish mentality.

Church Government.

Presbyterian Church government is essentially and intentionally democratic. All members are equal, there is no pre-eminence, no arbitrary-superior power, and the controlling machinery of each of the three strongest denominations conforms to the same general standard. Immediate congregational authority is vested in the Kirk Session which consists of laymen elders and the ministers; the parochial court is the Presbytery, composed again of the ministers and elected laymen; in some cases there is a third intermediary court, the Synod, which intervenes between the Presbyteries and the absolute power of the pre-eminent body, the General Assembly. These Assemblies comprise all ministers and a proportion of selected elders. Their word, determined by vote, is final in all matters pertaining to the doctrine and administration of their respective sects. In the case of the Church of Scotland, the General Assembly is graced by the presence of a Lord High Commissioner representing the sovereign. His functions are purely negative. As regards finance, the Established Church relies principally on State support and collects, in addition, teinds, which are in reality survivals of the tithes exacted by the original Roman Catholic Church. The Free Churches have formed monetary bulwarks in the Sustentation Funds, which are exacted from the congregation by special collections. Only in the case of the United Free Church is the financial position at all anxious; it is a large connection, self-supporting, and ambitious in foreign mission fields.

Church and State.

The ecclesiastical position in Scotland can be defined very briefly: all dissension revolves round the question of the relation between Church and State. It would appear certain that the "Wee Free" attitude is unrelenting, that that body will never submit to amalgamation, and will prefer to remain

eternally malcontent. But the situation is easier in the United Free Church. Like the Established Church, it is tolerant, it has evolved a mild form of ritual, and, though champions of the voluntary principle are in its ranks, everything points to a union. This consummation is, indeed, almost inevitable. Religious feeling in Scotland is an infinitely less pressing consideration than it was fifty years ago, there is a strong evidence that the descendant of the Disruption protagonists is falling from grace, and it is certain that an intelligent and anxious clergy realises the invigorating values of church movement on the grand scale.

A Changing Attitude.

This changed attitude of the Scottish people towards religion is among the most striking signs of the times, and the disinterested observer is almost forced to the conclusion that the cause lies to a certain extent with the Church herself. It is easy to explain the change by citing commerce or modernism or new thought as fundamental causation, but the solution is made more difficult on consideration of the undeniable fact that the broader view made its earliest impressions on the ministry and not on the individuals of the congregations. The immediate effect of the Disruption was to send the clergy and the students of the Free Church far afield in the search for truth. These men came into contact with new forces in home and foreign universities, they were brought, suddenly and overwhelmingly, face to face with all the complexities of modern life and modern thought, and they returned to their charges with many of the old narrow ideals disturbed. Later in the century, and mainly through the slowly working influence of Hume, Scott and Carlyle, the power of a newer theological philosophy made itself felt on the mind of the orthodox Scottish parson. And Scotland witnessed the astonishing sight of orthodoxy challenged from presumably orthodox pulpits. Bible criticism became the recreation of clergy and intelligent laymen alike, and the new school of thought grew in numbers and facility of exposition.

Gradually the change has taken place, and Rationalism is now modifying the severe doctrines of inherited Calvinism—so much so, indeed, that the penal statutes of the Church have been revised to afford latitude in an age when revolutionary theories have lost the quality of rareness.

The spread of this rationalist emanation from the Church is assured by the changed conditions of the people. The purest Presbyterianism could always flourish when material prosperity was not widespread in Scotland, just as it flourishes still in the poorest districts of the country. But prosperity did come, evolving a well-to-do upper-class that is casual in theological matters, and a labouring class that is destructive in tendency and practically ignores formal religion. At the present time, the backbone of the Presbyterian churches is the middle-class—shopkeepers, tradesmen, small business men and all those who lie between capital and labour, the two great classes affected peculiarly by the new thought which is evolved from modern conditions. Church attendance does not conform to the growth of population, fewer and still fewer infants are brought forward for Christian baptism, youth is now free from the old-time compulsory church-attendance, and recreation takes the place of reverence on the Sabbath day—these manifestations are reported by the churches themselves, though they are hardly apparent to the stranger. But they are, nevertheless, undeniable. In matters of the Faith, Scotland does not stand where she did.

A Loosening Hold.

How, then, do matters stand with the Church? What can be the views of the rapidly disappearing old-school of ministers on this matter? And what is the new school doing to reconcile formal religion with modern conditions of life? The answers are not yet apparent, for the new *régime* is too new to have allowed sufficient time for the development of an adequate twentieth-century Presbyterianism. But certain facts are clear. The position of the Church has been assailed, its influence on Scottish life has been grievously impaired,

and its ministers are fully alive to these facts. Again, representatives of the old school are not now to be found in populous centres but in quiet, country places where pious hands raised in deprecation are negligible as instruments of reaction; the new school holds the populated field. And, lastly, important modifications have been made on the former narrowness of outlook and austerity of worship practised in Presbyterian churches.

Changing Forms.

This changed or, rather, changing form of worship illustrates adequately the gradual metamorphosis of religious outlook in the north. For a graphic picture of church-going a few decades past, the enquirer has but to dip into the pages of a Barrie novel dealing with the "Auld Licht" community of Thrums; the works of Galt afford a sterner view of sterner times. The old-time service was a grim affair whose duration was measured by hours. Congregational behaviour conformed to an impressive code, and breaches were open to immediate and scathing comment from the minister. A cough, a clandestine sweetmeat in the mouth, even a fluttering of leaves during sermon or prayer were subjects of the gravest rebuke from elders. He was no worthy parson who preached from notes or prayed from books, the ultimate aim of Calvinism being to avoid the heretic ritual of Roman and Anglican churches. They were folks of deep conviction these early Presbyterians. And how it has all changed in half-a-century! Services are brief, an hour at most, and the modern Scot is content with one attendance in the day. He may cough, consume brandy-balls, or read the Bible instead of attending to the sermon as it pleases him. A vague ritual carries through the service, for the ideal absence of formality might well alienate the lukewarm Presbyterian of to-day. There is no such thing now as the admonition of an offender before the Kirk Session, and the pastoral element is gradually disappearing from the scope of a clergyman's work. This, however, is the minister's own affair; the new school being

notoriously diffident in the matter. But then, the ministry is a reasonably lucrative profession in Scotland now.

Church Music.

The introduction of instrumental music into the service of the Scottish Church is of more than passing interest. It is not so long ago that Presbyterian praise—consisting almost entirely of the metrical Psalm sung to the traditional tunes—was led by an officer entitled the "precentor," who found his note with the aid of a tuning-fork and dragged the congregation behind him in his melodious train. In spite of the twentieth century and Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the precentor is not entirely defunct, for he is yet to be found chanting in a few outlying parishes where even the harmonium has not yet penetrated. But the pipe-organ rules the praise of most congregations, and has been the means of introducing forms that would have shocked the souls of a past generation. Anthems, selections from oratorio, vesper hymns and other musical items combine to make the modern service advancedly choral. And the tendency grows, encouraged, possibly, by a clergy which realises its values of attraction. It is interesting to note that, in spite of this artistic advance, the Presbyterian Church adheres to the sometimes ludicrous metrical version of the Psalms sung to airs that are musically unsuited to the text.

The Future.

It would be futile to conjecture precisely how the fuller development of Scotland as a commercial nation will further react on the national church. It would appear that the churches of themselves can do little to retain their rapidly-loosening hold of the people, and that all action, all churchward tendencies can come only from these people. The Scots are yet inherently religious; traditions like theirs are not easily eradicable; and as a modern race they are more markedly interested in matters theological than most others. But they are seeking unconsciously to kick over the traces of a too uncompromising creed; with the logical blindness of a race that thinks passionately, they tend to extremes. It is

inconceivable that the " Auld Kirk " should absolutely lose its prestige among them. And it may be that a great, generous union will be the making of a strengthened Church, rational, enlightened, broad-minded, and free from the narrowness and prejudice that characterised religious transactions in the old days.

Episcopacy had troubled beginnings in Scotland but it is now decidedly a progressive and enlightened influence on various strata of national life. The failure of the Rebellion of '45 blighted the Stewart cause, and, incidentally, the Anglican creed in the north, and it was not until 1864 that the disabilities affecting the " Episcopal Church in Scotland " were finally removed. Since that date it has grown in power, property and prestige, even if it is yet something of an exotic to the average Scot who will speak, with awe and disrespect incongruously blended, of the " Englishy " church. It is far from being at all a national concern; but whereas the numerical support of the Presbyterian Churches does not increase, that of the Episcopal Church shows an improvement that is more and more marked with the passage of time. The aristocracy and landed gentry, though pledged by sentiment and policy to lend material support to the Established Church, are almost entirely connected with the alien sect. The Episcopal Church in Scotland has " tone "; it is the genteel church, the church of the upper classes. Thus the Scots *nouveaux riches* —and in the north there are few rich who are not also new— tend to gravitate into Episcopalianism, whose richer buildings, more spectacular services and loftier social prestige carry for them an irresistible appeal. But the Episcopal Church has other claims to attention than these. In the acute matter of Home Missions it does not lag behind the nonconforming bodies, carries on much good work among the poor of the cities, and that irrespective of the creed of its subjects.

Episcopalianism.

One might well think that the Reformation should have finally closed the career of the Roman Catholic Church in

Scotland, but in reality it caused a gap of only a century's duration. In some remote Highland districts, particularly throughout that belt of the country which extended from the Outer Isles of the Hebrides eastward to Aberdeenshire, the early religion was never completely suppressed, and the people of these neighbourhoods are yet the most devout supporters of Catholicism in the north. In 1653 the expelled church made an inconspicuous re-appearance by establishing a mission, and that mission grew slowly in power till 1878 saw the re-establishment of the hierarchy of two archbishops and four bishops which now controls the religious destinies of a very considerable population. Twenty years ago the priests numbered 369; the work now demands the services of 576. But the Roman Church is totally alien to Scotland, and it may be assumed that its adherents include only a small proportion of natives. Its growth has coincided with commercial progress. The demand for shipyard and other labour in the Clyde area is very largely supplied from Ireland, and the colony—which is now a considerable social and political factor—adheres devotedly to the Roman creed. Much agricultural labour is derived from the same source. It is to be noted that more than one-half of the Roman clergy in the kingdom is allocated to the diocese of Glasgow. In spite of its numerical strength, however, the power of the Roman Church in Scotland is almost wholly negative. Few, remarkably few, adherents are now to be found among the controlling classes, and its main sway is exercised among a submerged body of manual workers.

Catholicism.

No creeds that are non-conforming or dissenting can truly be said to have considerable influence in Scotland. And, though Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists and the rest have limited power, Presbyterianism is the great force and the only one whence the solution of the existing problem can emanate. The edifice, whose foundation was laid by John Knox, is not yet dangerously undermined, and its clergy is fully informed of every threatening element.

CHAPTER XIII

LAW

Not the least interesting of the multifarious survivals of mediaevalism in Scotland is the legal system, according to which justice is administered and the peace preserved in that country. It might have been expected, reasonably, that the Union of the Crowns and, particularly, the Union of the Parliaments, would have brought about the standardisation of the legal system for Great Britain, and not have left more or less intact the traditional machinery of the Courts of Edinburgh and in the northern provinces. As it was, the Union did result in some alteration, but not of any fundamental character; and the Englishman who is unhappily involved in any legal affair under Scottish jurisdiction finds himself concerned with procedure, terminology and—which is more striking—elementary principles, differing entirely from those that obtain south of the Tweed. It may be that he will not agree with John Bright, who considered Scotland the best administered country of the world; but it is not unlikely that he will allow Scotland's legal procedure to be cheaper, more thorough, and decidedly more expeditious than that of his native land.

In matters of law, England's development was hampered in a curious and considerable fashion by one of the greatest events of Scottish history. By her enmity towards France, England was very largely cut off from continental influences; through the Auld Alliance, Scotland was thrown directly into the path of such progress as was being made during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One particularly beneficial influence of the time was the spreading of the Roman Laws over

Origin.

Western Europe. These had been reduced by Emperor Justinian, in the sixth century, to one body, comprising the Pandects, the Institutions, the Code, and the Novels, but, on the disruption of the Empire, this admirable code was lost for a time. In the twelfth century, however—this according to legend—the Pandects were unearthed at Amalfi, and the law was thenceforth taught in the Universities of Italy. Gradually it spread westward until fully acquired by the French people, and, in time, the Justinian laws were applied to Scotland and form the basis of the modern Scots law. But the English looked with disfavour on anything emanating from France; England evolved her own amorphous system of common law. And person and property are regulated to-day on very different principles in England and Scotland.

The mercantile systems, of course, present few points of difference. These, like the commerce they regulate, have developed chiefly since the Union, and the legal architects of most measures affecting industry and business have employed the best features of the English and Scots codes in framing laws applying to both countries. In the same way, the House of Lords is the ultimate court of appeal for Scotland as for England, the possible difficulties arising from variations of terminology and procedure being obviated by the presence of several Law Lords of northern birth and training. At the present time, two out of the six Lords of Appeal in Ordinary are Scots. And there the similarity ends. To enumerate the myriad points of divergence would call for more space and patience than are at our disposal. The existing literature on the subject is considerable in extent, and the interest is, from the expert point of view, by no means exhausted. But the subtleties have no place here; there is on the surface a sufficiency of piquant and interesting points to cause the layman further astonishment at the intricacies of the law.

Criminal procedure in Scotland, however, is of a comparatively simple, just, and effective kind. The lowest

jurisdiction for petty local offences is vested in the Provost and Bailies—*anglicé* Mayor and Aldermen—of the towns. Their powers are practically limited, and the serious offender is passed on by these magistrates —who are not necessarily, as in England, Justices of the Peace—to the Sheriff-Substitute, the resident judge appointed by the Crown, usually from the ranks of the Advocates—of whom more hereafter. Again, we come upon a terminological difference. The Scots Sheriff is a vastly more potent dignitary than his English counterpart; he is the County Court Judge, with powers of imprisonment up to two years; in civil cases his jurisdiction over "moveable" property is unlimited; he contrives to discharge what in England are the duties of the Revising Barrister, the Judge of Quarter Sessions, and, in part, of a Coroner; and, lastly, he takes frequent courts for the recovery of small debts not exceeding £20. A county of size may provide employment for two or three Sheriffs-Substitute who owe allegiance to a Sheriff-Principal, the second officer of appeal between the County Courts and the Supreme Courts in Edinburgh. The county of Inverness, for instance, has three Sheriffs-Substitute, sitting at Inverness, Fort-William and Portree. The county of Lanark, including Glasgow, has nine, and Renfrew and Bute two. These important law-officers form the backbone of immediate justice in Scotland.

The Chain of Authority.

From the Sheriff Court, the unsettled case passes to the highest tribunal, the Court of Session, which is accommodated in the ancient Parliament House of the Scottish Kingdom. This great hall, facing the Church of St. Giles in Edinburgh, was erected in 1631, though the façade and various court-rooms are of much later date. The Court of Session divides into two Houses, the Outer—the court of first instance—and the Inner. Five judges sit in the Outer House. The Inner House is composed of two divisions, the First, presided over by the Lord President, with three assisting judges, and the

The Supreme Court.

THE OLD HIGH STREET, EDINBURGH

Second, boasting the Lord Justice Clerk as senior Judge with, again, three subsidiary Lords. This organisation applies particularly to civil matters; for the criminal court, the High Court of Justiciary comprises all the thirteen judges, who then assume the *rôle* of Lords Commissioners of Justiciary with the Lord President as Lord Justice General. In addition to their multifarious duties in civil and criminal matters at Edinburgh, these high officers of the law must proceed several times yearly on circuit to Jedburgh, Dumfries, Ayr, Glasgow, Inveraray, Stirling, Perth, Aberdeen, Dundee and Inverness. Frequently, the lesser of these towns have nothing to offer in the way of high criminal interest.

It will be noted that no law officer in Scotland fills a position that can be described fairly as sinecure; they are, every one of them, very fully employed by the comprehensive duties of their offices. And that condition is all the more laudable considering the fact that remuneration in the north is on a comparatively moderate scale. Inexpensiveness has been mentioned as a pleasing feature of legal procedure in Scotland; and, certainly, the expense to the Crown for the reimbursement of the Scottish law-officers is correspondingly moderate. Our Sheriff-Substitute, with his hundred-and-one activities, is remunerated on a low scale, varying from about £500 to £800 yearly. A judge of first instance must be content with £3,600, while the Lord President, the highest officer, receives the same salary as an English Judge of first instance: £5,000. Legal proceedings can seldom be undertaken on the cheap scale, but it is worthy of note that the expenses of a small debt summons in Scotland, including Court, serving, and agent's fees, rarely exceed 9s.

High Officials.

The personnel of the Scottish Bars, metropolitan and parochial, though organised on a general system similar to that of England, has many idiosyncrasies. That all-important official, the Lord-Advocate, has no exact counterpart in the South. This is a political appointment varying with party changes of

government, the holder being chosen from among the leaders of the Scottish Bar whose opinions happily coincide with contemporary Downing Street. The importance of the post may be assessed from the fact that its remuneration is on a level with that of the Lord Justice General. At one period of history, the duties of the Lord-Advocate were those of an unofficial Prime Minister of Scotland, but the recent creation of a Secretary for Scotland has lightened his burden to some extent of peculiarly administrative functions. In matters of pure law, he represents the Crown in civil and criminal trials of first importance, and is, to that extent, a northern counterpart of the English Attorney-General. But he must be prepared, in addition, to enlighten the House of Commons on various Scottish matters. The Lord-Advocate has the assistance of a Solicitor-General and of various Advocates-Depute to represent him in less pressing causes.

The Bar.

The Faculty of Advocates corresponds generally to the General Council of the Bar, in so far as it controls the professional affairs of those who practise the art of advocacy before the Supreme Courts. But the Scottish corporation is, if anything, a more exclusive body. In numbers, it is about one-fifth as strong as the English body, and entrance is a matter of more social and financial difficulty. The Scots Advocate seldom practises beyond Edinburgh, and the visitor has but to look in at the high-vaulted Parliament House to observe how the great un-briefed wile away the days—after immemorial custom—by pacing in groups from gable to gable. (" Brief," by the way, is not included in northern phraseology.) Many members of the Scots Bar are, of course, attracted by the possibilities of the greater courts, civil and parliamentary, in London, and dual membership of both Bars is not uncommon. Some of these more adventurous spirits have achieved greatness; the great English public is familiar with the names of Lord Haldane and Lord Loreburn. It would be wrong

to suggest that the Scots Bar has opportunities so wide as those open to the Barristers of the English Temples and Inns; but, while that is so, the Advocate has a quite unique position and a lofty prestige in his native country. Since the days of Scott, the law has enjoyed a reputation for literary proclivities, and the legend survives, even though the aesthetic atmosphere of the capital becomes more and more rarefied. The visitor who penetrates to the granite fastnesses of Aberdeen is warned against misinterpretation of the term "Advocate," as employed by many law agents there. This latter is a purely traditional privilege.

Solicitors and others.

Those who practise before the Sheriff and minor courts are the qualified lawyers, admitted and registered as Law Agents under an Act of 1873. In Edinburgh, however, the agents practising there are largely grouped into societies of comparative exclusiveness. The oldest and most eclectic is that body known as the Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet, which demands of candidates for membership a standard of knowledge and an entrance fee, on a level with those that qualify for admission as an Advocate. This corporation has certain perquisites, and every summons from the Supreme Court (*anglicé*, "Writ") must "pass the Signet"; that is, none is potential lacking the sign-manual of a W.S. The best of the practice is thus guaranteed to members of that august society. A second fraternity, less renowned but not less numerous or prosperous, chooses to be distinguished as Solicitors in the Supreme Courts. At one time, practice connected with the Court of Session was confined to the Writers to the Signet and Solicitors in the Supreme Courts carrying on business in Edinburgh. These disabilities have been removed, but the provincial agent must generally entrust the more intimate phases of his litigious affairs to the Edinburgh correspondents as of yore, since these have convenient access to counsel and to the Courts. The responsibility of preparing the case, however, and the bulk of the spadework

are the affair of the provincial agent. It is interesting to note, in passing, the popularity of the English term "solicitor." The native substantive is "writer," and the many old-fashioned and conservative practitioners of Scotland adhere to it with laudable determination.

Criminal Procedure.

In matters of procedure, the conduct of a cause in Scotland, and especially a criminal cause, is a less involved ceremony than that which obtains under the English system. It invariably appears to the Scottish mind that the human interest of a trial in the south is very largely modified in the course of the elaborate sittings by which it must be preceded. In the north, there is no prolonged magisterial enquiry, no remit for trial to Assizes, and no Grand Jury to discount the dramatic climax of a prosecution with its anticipatory True Bill. The result of the Scottish system is that the criminal, having passed through the formal remissions from subordinate to High Courts, comes up for trial without one single scrap of evidence, for or against him, having been previously canvassed. In this practice, the Scots would appear to have a peculiar regard for the malefactor, whose feelings are spared to such an extent that one clearly-defined trial is sufficient to make or mar his career. A great criminal trial, with its definitely dramatic possibilities, is one of the few events calculated to rouse the phlegmatic Caledonian to a pitch of high interest. The little that is made public before the trial serves only as an *apéritif* to the Scottish appetite for romance, which, stimulated by a similar element in past history, is a marked national trait. There have been trials in the northern Courts that have shaken society to its foundations; the Englishman can hardly conceive of, or appreciate the extent and fervour of public interest that made the trial of Madeleine Smith the occasion for popular ballads, a press campaign, and pamphlets innumerable. Even English causes strike deep notes, and Scotland gasped at the various crises during the trial of Hawley Harvey Crippen. But here, one detects the vein

of sentiment; prosecuting counsel on that occasion was a romantic Scottish recruit to the English Bar.

The High Courts.

The High Court of Justiciary opens its proceedings on circuit with prayer and much pomp of ceremonial. To foreign eyes its composition, so far as the various units are concerned, will not appear strikingly exotic, but the organisation and duties of some of these display great differences from southern practice. The jury, as the most important item of the legal machinery, consists of fifteen good men and true, though the usual number of twelve is the rule in civil cases. The leading counsel for the prosecution—the Lord-Advocate, perhaps, or his Solicitor-General—appears to exercise remarkable consideration for the prisoner and the prisoner's case, and it is very probable that, if the culprit be in straitened circumstances, the Crown has guaranteed the expenses of defence and provided necessary advocates through the generous system of appointing regular agents for the poor. Neither leader is permitted to make an opening speech—that Sassenach institution that can so grievously prejudice the chances of the prisoner. Indeed, every particular of the Scots trial strikes the observer as being very elaborately, very deliberately fair. The cause opens at once with the evidence, and the oath of the witness is accepted with great decorum and solemnity. There is no "gabble and kiss," as the Scots practitioner describes the English form, but a deliberate repetition after the Judge, of the sonorous Scots oath: "I swear by Almighty God, as I shall answer to God at the Great Day of Judgment, that I shall tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

Public Prosecution.

The impersonal nature of criminal prosecution in Scotland is a matter deserving close consideration and, one might suggest, imitation. A Public Prosecutor is never absent from any criminal proceedings in the north, and this peculiarity of system gives rise to Crown officials like the Lord-Advocate and his

deputes. In the Sheriff-Court, the official prosecutor is known as the Procurator-Fiscal, and is generally appointed from among local practitioners; in local Police Courts a similar office is held by a Burgh Prosecutor. This might well appear an example of official vindictiveness, but it is, in reality and practice, a guarantee of justice. Private prosecution, which is so frequent in England, and which may be undertaken through very ignoble motives, is an impossibility. The prosecutor acts only at the instance of the police; if the offence be serious, a delinquent appears before the Sheriff-Substitute in private, questions bearing on the crime are put to him by the Fiscal, and these are subsequently recast in the form of a Declaration, which is used as evidence for the prosecution at the trial. This Declaration is not obligatory, and in point of fact, is seldom made. Not infrequently is a satisfactory Declaration the means of acquittal, while on the other hand, official prosecution is unlikely to bring about a frivolous change. It is worth noting that the Affidavit has little value in the Scottish Courts, except in such cases where Commission is granted to take evidence from aged, sick or distant persons. Scots law insists on testimony from the witness *in propria persona* before a Judge. In the same connection, the charge against a criminal must be drawn up with care. A weak indictment is open to a preliminary plea of objection to its relevancy, and the case, therefore, is liable to dismissal before trial.

The Jury and its Powers.

As we have seen, the Scottish criminal jury differs in numerical composition from that of England, but, while the procedure of counsels' concluding speeches and the Judge's charge is on conventional lines, the fifteen jurors have the privilege of returning a verdict unknown beyond Scotland. In passing, it is a noteworthy fact that unanimity is not an essential to a valid decision and the view of a majority decides the issue. This characteristic is perhaps a time-saving feature. Three decisions are available: the conventional and final, " Guilty "

or "Not Guilty," and the indecisive "Not proven" that has terminated so many sensational trials in the High Court of Justiciary. On this verdict the prisoner is discharged, and it is for the Judge to determine by comment whether the character of the departing panel is with or without the conventional stain. It would be futile to discuss the expediency of this dramatically unsatisfactory decision, or to opine whether or not it is a straining of the Scottish passion for justice. The two most sensational cases of the last half-century have terminated thus. In 1857, Madeleine Smith, the daughter of a Glasgow architect, was arraigned before the Justiciary Court on the charge of having murdered, by arsenical poisoning, a young Jerseyman, L'Angelier, with whom she had been on terms of intimacy. It was proved conclusively that the unfortunate girl had purchased arsenic on three separate occasions, making false statements at each purchase; equally well proven was the fact that L'Angelier had died of arsenical poisoning. Among other interesting points, the defence put forward, as an excuse for Madeleine's purchase of arsenic, the theory that she had been influenced by articles in *Chambers's* and *Blackwood's* noting the use of the poison as a complexion-food! But such ingenious pleas were hardly essential, for the prosecution failed to prove a meeting at which the poison might have been administered. The jury returned a majority's verdict of "Not proven," and, to the intense delight of the public, Madeleine was discharged from the bar of the High Court. A more recent case was that of A. J. Monson, who, in the early 'nineties, rented the mansion and estate of Ardlamont, Argyllshire, and thither invited a young Englishman of good family. The first act of the drama was the narrow escape of the visitor from drowning in mysterious circumstances, the last the discovery of his dead body in a plantation near the house. Behind the ear was a gunshot wound and beside the body a sporting rifle. Monson was arrested on strong suspicion, and placed on trial before the High Court of Justiciary in

Edinburgh. Medical evidence swore that the dead man could not have been the victim of accidental or self-inflicted death; others deponed that, in their opinion, such was actually the case—and it was known that the victim had been addicted to intemperance. Again the "Not proven" verdict saved a life.

In connection with this later case, it is to be noted that the Inquest is a formality unknown to procedure in Scotland.

The Inquest.

Its place is taken by the Fatal Accidents Inquiry, an institution now regulated by an Act of 1906, and employing a jury of seven. Its duties are to set forth, so far as is definitely proven by particulars, when and where the accident and the death or deaths took place; the cause, the person or persons, if any, to whose fault or negligence such accident is attributable; the precaution, if any, by which it might have been avoided; any contributory defects in the mode of working, and any other relevant findings. This, surely, is an achievement of democratic legislation. It applies to all sudden and suspicious deaths, but operates principally in connection with fatal accidents occurring in the course of employment.

The points wherein the land-holding system of Scotland differ from that of England are so numerous, so fundamental and far-reaching, that a catalogue of technical variations is the last thing to be attempted here. But one principle must be clearly noted: that, based on the laws of Rome, Scots law is one coherent, interdependent whole. There is in it little that is haphazard and no characteristic like the fortuitous agglomeration of the Common Law in England. And the principles of northern land-tenure is, perhaps, the best illustration of its basic soundness. The "lease," as an instrument regulating the tenure of land, is unpopular in Scotland. The landholder there possesses his moiety of the earth's surface as a "feu," a direct holding from the feudal superior. His sleep is untroubled by thoughts of a ruinous "falling-in,"

Land Tenure.

such as happens under the southern "lease"; he rests content in his knowledge that, so long as "feu-duty" is paid and the conditions of the Feu Contract observed, his possession of the land will be undisturbed. A "feu" is not to be confused with a "lease"; the first is a distinct, secure entity of the perfect feudal process, the latter a transient and insecure makeshift. In early days, it is interesting to recall, the feu was a gratuitous holding, compensated for by military, civil or religious services to the Superior. Thus we find "twelve capons" and "four shear dargs" mentioned as considerations, or, more elaborately, the provision of a boat of six oars, with six rowers and a steersman. Other examples of "reddendo," as the recompense is known to the Scots lawyer, were illusory and comprised nominal requirements as "a snowball in June," or "a rose at Christmas." These quasi-military services were abolished by the Clan Act of the reign of George I —a measure aimed at eradicating the feudal proclivities of Scotland. As a perfection of the sound land-holding system, there exists in Scotland a very adequate scheme of registration, whereby every single document dealing with transference or "burdening" (*i.e.*, mortgaging) of land is recorded in full in the books of the Register House at Edinburgh. These are for the information of all, and every flaw in the title must remain patent until cleared by some emendatory writing.

"By the law of Scotland marriage is a consensual contract, requiring no particular solemnity, nor even written evidence, but deliberate and unconditional consent alone"—which succinct quotation from Bell, guide, philosopher and friend of the Scottish law student, offers an exposition of northern principles of marriage as clear and comprehensive as could be desired. In alien eyes it is an elastic definition, and its apparent breadth has not infrequently misled affectionate couples from beyond the Tweed to seek consolation under its generous workings. Once, indeed, as the history of Gretna Green exists to tell,

Marriage.

an elopement to Scotland was the invariable prelude to clandestine marriage; but with harder times have come more stringent conditions, the first and most upsetting of which demands that one, at least, of the parties must have resided in Scotland for twenty-one days. Even with that bar to expedition, the laws that govern Scots marriage are full of interest to the uninitiated. In the first place, these northern contracts are grouped under two technical headings of "Regular" and "Irregular"—or "Clandestine." Regularity, in the technical sense, is assured by the publication of banns or prior notice to a registrar, and celebration by a clergyman before two witnesses. It is not affected by place or time of solemnisation; the ceremony may be carried through in a place other than a church, and at any hour of day or night. Irregularity, generally speaking, is constituted by the neglect or avoidance of those conditions that make the legally "regular" marriage; but it is important that the former is as effectual in law as the latter. The common type of irregular contract in these modern days is popularly known as marriage "before the Sheriff," being effected by consent exchanged in the presence of two witnesses, and attendance before the harassed Sheriff-Substitute at his Court. This dignitary does *not* marry the parties, but grants a warrant to register the contract which again, and despite the obvious irregularity, binds the parties as firmly as any ceremony performed by a Bishop in his Cathedral.

Divorce.

Proceeding from the laws affecting the establishment of marriage to those that control its dissolution, the enquirer again unearths considerable differences between the Scottish and English practices. That of the north is, at least, reasonably clear. Divorce is granted in the Court of Session on two simple grounds, first, that of adultery, and second, that of desertion—which latter term implies wilful and persistent desertion for four years. Beyond these causes of matrimonial difference, the breach is made only by separation which is the

counterpart of the English divorce *a mensa et thoro*, and may be voluntary or judicial. Judicial separation is the sequel to a contract in which one of the parties has suffered apprehension of violence, danger to life, continued annoyance, or has reason to suspect the other of adulterous practices. The English practice of divorce, in contradistinction to the Scots, might form the subject for an interesting thesis on the morals, ethics, and laws of the dissolution of marriage. Divorce in the south dates only from 1858, prior to which nothing short of an Act of Parliament could dissolve an unhappy union. It was the Matrimonial Causes Act that regulated legal procedure in the matter, and demanded application to that Court of very varied functions, the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice. Further speculation might concentrate on the English practice of making distinction between husband and wife in matters of divorce; Scots law makes none, and that, to the average thinker, must appear the fairer rule. The final criticism that the Scot must launch at English custom concerns the Decree *nisi*, that inchoate and temporary judgment which enters not into his philosophy of divorce. First and last, the Scottish divorce is final; if comparatively facile it is inveterately fair, a trait which, above everything, is inherent in all workings of the laws that are founded on those of Justinian.

CHAPTER XIV

SCIENCE AND INVENTION

To the observer, modern Scotland is a land wherein science must appear to be the first consideration in education and commerce, and wherein other interests receive only secondary consideration. For the populated Lowland belt is crowded thick with shipyards, engineering works, steel manufactories, mines, sugar refineries, textile factories—all of them calling for young men trained in science, none asking for the classical scholar. Scotland lives now by science, or applied science, and Scotland must educate her youth in science whereby she lives. In this sense, technical education and research in the north has, of later years, been somewhat diffused; the production of commercial scientists increases, while the number of purely specialised students and thinkers tends to decrease. The University laboratories send forth more and more practical men, and retain fewer to devote their lives to sequestered research. But it must not be taken that such a universal tendency fails utterly to create the disinterested student; there must be, among the stream of young men, some who are attracted by the elusive problems of mind and matter. And Scotland can still take a high place among the nations of the United Kingdom as a great mother of higher scientists.

The impetus to generalisation and commercial science can be traced easily to the most famous of Scottish inventors.

James Watt.

All the world is familiar with the story of James Watt (1736–1819) who, as a delicate child, pondered so much that was world-moving in his father's house at Greenock. In 1763 Watt was at Glasgow University where he was entrusted with the repair of a model Newcomen engine, (now carefully preserved); he perceived its defects, studied possible remedies, and in

1769 patented his improved engine. His main improvements —they were revolutionary in their time—were the cutting off by valves of steam admission so as to utilise its expansion, the application of the crank, and, most important, the production of rotatory from reciprocating motion. Later, he invented these items that are utterly essential to the steam-engine: parallel motion, the throttle valve, the governor, and the indicator. He made the steam-engine that is the prime mover of all energy. Since his time the improvements on the steam-engine have been little more than developments of his early discoveries, and the name of James Watt is one that all civilisation must honour. As a commentary on the honour accorded to the inventor in his own time, it is worthy of note that the hammermen of Glasgow sought to interdict him from trading in their city, on the ground that the inventor was something of a magician and charlatan; only his marriage to the daughter of a freeman of Glasgow enabled him to open a shop in the Salt Market.

Around the scene of Watt's early labours has grown up the great engineering activity of the Clyde basin, and that industry has been assisted by the fact that a second great pioneer carried on his work on the Western waters. Henry Bell was not the inventor of the steam-vessel, since Savery and Papin had experimented in the early eighteenth century; and later the Marquis de Jouffroy on the Rhône; Rumsey, Fitch, and Fulton in America; and Millar on Dalswinton Loch in Dumfriesshire had each carried out investigations with vessels driven by steam-power. The failure of most of these was due to imperfect transmission of power from piston to propeller. But the inventions of Watt simplified the problem, and, in 1801, William Symington launched the *Charlotte Dundas*, which plied successfully on the Forth and Clyde Canal until the directors of that concern became apprehensive of injury to the canal banks. This was "the first practical steamboat," but it was for Henry Bell to be the European pioneer

Henry Bell.

of steam navigation as a remunerative enterprise. He built the *Comet* which ran successfully on the Clyde from 1812 till it came to grief off Gourock through collision. Scotland, and particularly the Clyde, had much to do with the beginnings of the steamship, and the industry is settled there naturally as the chief commercial concern. In 1812, the Clyde output in steam-tonnage was represented by the trivial displacement of the *Comet;* a century later it was calculated in hundreds of thousands.

James Nasmyth.

A third industrial inventor whose labours assisted his native land to commercial eminence was James Nasmyth (1808–1890), the son of the artist. His youth was devoted to mechanical study, and early improvements on existing methods attracted the attention of the scientific professoriate of Edinburgh University. Early in life his opportunity came with the demand for machinery capable of producing a large paddle shaft for the steamship *Great Britain* then building in England. Nasmyth set himself to think out the problem, which—according to his autobiography—occupied him about half-an-hour, and resulted in the invention of the steam-hammer, now an essential of all metal-manufacturing on the large scale. That pregnant half-hour effected a revolution in every branch of wrought-metal working, and gave commerce the essential substitute for the clumsy tilt-hammer formerly in use. The greatness of this invention has sufficed to minimise the importance of Nasmyth's achievements in other branches of tool-making, which included an excellent machine for the stamping and shaping of nuts.

Science and Commerce.

It is a nice point to decide whether northern progress in applied science since the days of Watt has been due to purely honest scientific motive or to the reputed national leaning towards money-making. And the observer must certainly agree that Scotland is a scientific nation mainly in relation to commerce. The national habit of mind is, truly, an enquiring one, but

A WEST COUNTRY HARBOUR

LIBRARIES

there is to be set against that the national bias to progress, to sheer material progress. In the combination of the innate proclivities, we find some explanation of the modern industrial Scotland—the Scotland of great shipyards and factories where scientific methods are essential, but where successful commerce is the ultimate aim. But it is not to be assumed that the beginnings were made with purely mercenary aims. These early inventors were first scientists, and business men only when their inventions called for development. Watt's improvements on the Newcomen engine were not the fruits of what the haphazard moralist of everyday life is pleased to call " common sense"; that quality was certainly an essential, but Watt had to approach the problem as a scientific one, with every regard to the technicalities of heat and steam-expansion, just as the modern biologist must know his subject ere he can approach, say, the Mendelian theory with understanding. Applications of scientific results are incidental, often accidental, and the pure scientist seeks only knowledge. Is it credible, however, that mankind could neglect the humanitarian service or the money-making possibilities of any result of research ?

From the pen and from the example of a great modern scientist we have a clear answer to the question. In the opening phrases of an address to the Institute of Civil Engineers, Lord Kelvin (1824–1907) made this very definite statement: " There cannot be a greater mistake than that of looking superciliously upon practical applications of science." And William Thomson was primarily the pure scientist, the investigator into abstruse problems of matter. At Cambridge he took second place in the Tripos, and, later, wrested the honours from the Senior Wrangler in the much more serious test for Smith's prize. Soon afterwards, we find him Professor of Mathematics at Glasgow University, where he spent the remainder of his life. In such a position, a scientist may be forgiven exclusiveness and abstruse research. But Kelvin

Lord Kelvin.

was not altogether of that cast of mind. Again he declares: "The life and soul of science is its practical application . . .," and acts upon that firm conviction. Electricity was his main subject, but his interests were catholic, and hydro- and thermo-dynamics, elasticity, and natural philosophy had a share of his attention. One great quality he possessed was that of realising fundamentals. New ideas seemed to be germinating continuously in his brain, and for that reason, perhaps, many of his discoveries have remained insufficiently developed on the theoretical side.

It is in the region of practical application of his discoveries, however, that Kelvin's name attracts the attention of the average observer. As a scientist, he was primarily interested in magnetism, as a dweller on Clydeside he was a yachtsman, and his earliest practical work was in connection with the mariner's compass. The ancient defects of this instrument —unreliability in rough weather and uselessness during gun-fire—came directly under his notice, and he set about improving the conventional design. The result, patented in 1876, was the compass that is now standard and known to every sailor. A second nautical convenience of Kelvin's invention is the sounding machine, which superseded the romantic but tardy lead-line with its fragments of coloured ribbons. It has been said that Kelvin was the best friend the sailor ever had. "No wonder we sailors bless the name of Lord Kelvin," wrote Admiral W. R. Kennedy, and there is a time-worn anecdote which relates how a sailor was overheard to declare: "I don't know who this Thomson may be, but every sailor ought to pray for him every night."

Submarine Telegraphy.

The idea of signalling by cable was adumbrated in a correspondence between Kelvin and Sir George Gabriel Stokes; it was developed theoretically by Kelvin and Gustav Kirchoff, but its practical application was mainly due to the practical Kelvin. The first cable laid to America in 1857 failed through the employment of electricity at high tension, and the Glasgow

professor was called in to perfect subsequent installations. He solved the problem by transferring the sensitiveness from cable to recording instruments, applied Weber's method of indicating recording motions by a ray of light reflected from the needle, and latterly patented a syphon-recorder by means of which the message was printed. This instrument is still in use. Deep scientific knowledge and a capable practical spirit were the qualities that made Lord Kelvin a very great man. He possessed the knowledge that could grapple with the most abstruse problems of the time, and the "common sense" to apply that knowledge in material, humanitarian ways. The lamp of the recluse may incidentally shed a beam in some dark corner of an everyday problem; that held aloft by William Thomson played full on the questions that retarded a developing civilisation.

P. G. Tait.

Peter Guthrie Tait (1831–1901) was not the utilitarian scientist as his more famous friend was. Like Kelvin, a distinguished student of the Cambridge mathematical schools, he returned to Edinburgh as Professor of Mathematics in the University. His interests were chiefly concerned with light and thermodynamics, though he collaborated with Kelvin in a treatise on natural philosophy. Tait's claim to remembrance among those outside the circle of higher mathematicians is as the author of many popular and delightful essays on science in the "easy chair" manner of Sir Ray Lankester. One attractive offshoot of his interests was an essay on the flight of a golf-ball and underspin—"the path of a rotating spherical projectile"—contributed to the *Badminton Magazine*, and derived from his observations as a golfing enthusiast. The work is considered a valuable contribution to the higher literature of the national game. No survey of northern scientists can omit the name of Sir David Brewster (1781–1868) who, originally intended for the Church and actually licensed, turned to science, became Principal, first of St. Andrews University, and, later, of Edinburgh, and was the

recipient of every honour open to a man of science. He was essentially a controversialist, but his discoveries in optics—with particular regard to the undulatory theory of light—are of deep importance. He is well known to the unscientific as the author of various works, including *More Worlds than One.*

If Kelvin did more than any other scientist to encourage application of scientific discoveries, the theoretical work of one Scots professor paved the way for one of the most sensational inventions of modern times. James Clerk Maxwell (1831–1879) went beyond Kelvin's theories of electric transmission to the analogies suggested by the flow of liquids. The published theories were that magnetism is a phenomenon of rotation, electric current one of translation, and that the electrostatic condition is one of strain upon the ether. This was further developed to a close analogy between waves of light and electric and magnetic phenomena. In fine, the theory concluded that magnetic energy is kinetic energy of ether, and electric energy the energy of strain of the ether. Most of Maxwell's assumptions have been proved accurate by the researches of Hertz and others, and have contributed very largely to the introduction and perfection of wireless telegraphy.

James Clerk Maxwell.

When chemistry escaped in the eighteenth century from the stigma of empiricism to the stability of a sure science, at least one Scotsman was contemporaneous and in sympathy with the great liberator, Lavoisier. Joseph Priestley of England was a great investigator but never quite succeeded in freeing himself from the alchemical point of view; Joseph Black (1728–1799), doctor of medicine of Edinburgh University, was perhaps the earliest genuine scientific chemist. His chief work—the thesis for his degree—was concerned with the process of combustion occurring during the calcination of magnesia and similar substances. It proved loss of weight during the process, proved that the residue is a substance other than the original magnesia, demonstrated that a hitherto

Early Chemists.

unknown gas was evolved, analysed that gas and called it " fixed air," and generally revolutionised investigation by establishing the method of accurate observation of chemical properties as the means of distinguishing substances. For the modern, to whom these things are obvious by tradition and education, Black's discoveries appear strangely elementary and naïve. But it was pioneer work, work that helped to establish the science of chemistry. It exposed and ridiculed the fallacy of vague generalisations dear to the alchemist. Joseph Black was the first to conduct an accurate and quantitative enquiry into particular chemical change and the first to make clear the meaning of " a homogeneous substance."

Thomas Graham.

Thomas Graham (1805–1869) was part physicist and part chemist since he investigated these matters that are of both branches of research. There is a tradition that Graham was a hypersensitive individual, happier in the laboratory than in the lecture-room, and that on his first appearance before a large body of Glasgow students, his courage failed and he fled. His discoveries were of a highly technical nature establishing, as they did, the basic phenomena of the diffusion of liquids and gases. He established the distinction between crystalloids, which, in solution, will pass through membranes, and uncrystallisable or amorphous colloids which will not. These investigations, essentially specialised as they were, have cleared the way for subsequent experimenters in the phenomena common to biology, physics and chemistry.

Sir William Ramsay.

In a letter to *Nature* of 29th September, 1892, Lord Rayleigh confessed to having been puzzled " by some recent results as to the density of nitrogen. . . According to two methods of preparation I obtain quite distinct values." The facts of the case were that Lord Rayleigh's investigations had proved that, between nitrogen derived from the air and nitrogen produced from other sources, there was a difference in weight of about one-half per cent. The error was trifling, but it

exceeded the probable error of experiment; and it was but a natural conclusion that the accepted analysis of air was erroneous in so far as it stated oxygen and nitrogen to be its sole constituents. Towards elucidation of this fascinating problem, Sir William Ramsay (1852–1916) devoted his knowledge. His conclusion, as all the world knows, was the discovery of a new gas, Argon, half as dense again as nitrogen, and a constituent of air. This isolation of a new element was a striking vindication of British science.

Radio-Activity.

But the interest of the question was not exhausted there. Further enquiry into the properties of nitrogen from chemical sources led Ramsay to experiment upon cleveite, a rare mineral, which was productive of a gas believed to be nitrogen. The light from the luminous gas thus evolved exhibited, in the spectroscope, a number of rays of a kind hitherto unknown, and one of these peculiarly brilliant. Nitrogen this gas certainly was not. In time, the chemist identified the bright ray as due to helium, an element previously associated exclusively with analysis of light from the sun; in the end, after prolonged investigation, Ramsay succeeded in isolating a second new element, Helium. It is now known that Helium occurs in more minerals than one, and that its gases are found dissolved in certain mineral waters, probably through the disintegregation of the most wonderful of all elements, radium. The name of Ramsay must be associated, even in a vague degree, with that of Madame Curie, for the investigations of the last thirty years of his life led the way from a consideration of atmospheric properties to the elucidation of radio-activity. There is to be noted in this connection the invaluable research work of Professor Frederick Soddy, formerly of Glasgow, and now of Aberdeen University, and Sir Ernest Rutherford.

Sir James Dewar (b. 1842) has a large claim to recognition from the unscientific public if only for the invention of the Silvered Vacuum Vessel—the popular Thermos Flask. But his scientific achievements include much more than the

introduction of that convenience. With Sir Frederick Abel he is the co-inventor of cordite, the smokeless explosive adopted by H.M. Government; he was an early experimenter in the liquefaction of gases and the first to obtain liquid and solid hydrogen; he has investigated, with striking results, the problems of spectroscopy, the physiological action of light, and physical processes under extreme conditions of temperature. The furthest-reaching work—apart from commercial application of his discoveries—has been in connection with the problems of vacuum, a condition that can be rapidly obtained by an application of Sir James Dewar's discoveries in gas-liquefaction and air calorimetry.

Sir James Dewar.

It was almost a foregone conclusion that a country so rich in geological interest as Scotland should produce some eminent students of the science of earth-structure; yet one of the most distinguished of these went far afield for the subjects of his greatest work. Sir Roderick Impey Murchison (1792–1871) was a gentleman born, served under Wellesley and Moore, and retired, early in life, to play the part of a country squire. An interest in science, however, was awakened by acquaintance with Sir Humphrey Davy, and the erstwhile soldier developed an enthusiasm for geology that exceeded only his learning on the subject. His early work was concerned with the rocks of southern England, Auvergne, Italy, the Tyrol and the Alps, but his greatest was that connected with the stratification on the Welsh borders, by which he established the Silurian system and revealed the existence of strata older than any known previously in these isles, and different from anything hitherto recorded. With Sedgwick he established the Devonian system by observations in south-east England and the Rhine valley, and at the desire of the Russian Czar, surveyed that Eastern country so far as the Urals The valuable labours of a busy life were rewarded by his official appointment as Director-General of Geological Survey in this kingdom.

Geology—Murchison.

The name of Hugh Miller (1802–1856) is associated with much besides geology, for he was first the man of letters, and a redoubtable controversialist in matters of politics and religion. The most famous work is, of course, *The Old Red Sandstone*, a region of geological enquiry in which he was discoverer of much valuable fact. Some of his views have been proved erroneous by the investigations of Professor Nicol and Sir Henry James, but the book has a high place in science, by virtue of its learning, and more especially in literature for its clarity of style and descriptive power. One of the greatest of contemporary geologists, Sir Archibald Geikie, O.M. (b. 1835), has done more than any other to construct, by collection of precedents and by his own valuable discoveries, a complete account of the geological history of his native land. These investigations have trenchantly enforced the truth of the theory expounded by James Hutton (1726–1797), the father of modern geology. Hutton's investigations embraced the movements of strata and the origin of igneous rocks, with particular reference to the relation of granite. He was far in advance of his time and provided by the application of strong, inductive reasoning, the scientific fundamentals upon which the study of earth-structure now rests. "The great masses of the earth," he declared "are the same everywhere, and the result therefore of our present enquiry is, that we find no vestige of a beginning—no prospect of an end."

Hugh Miller.

When we come to consider Scotland's contribution to that branch of science which deals with the alleviation and cure of suffering and disease, we are tempted to linger over the records of days long past. The career of John Bell (1763–1820) attracts attention, since his *Anatomy* is known even to modern students, if his *Discoveries on the Nature and Cure of Wounds* or his *Letters on Professional Character* are forgotten. *The Principles of Surgery*, in three quarto volumes, was a strong foundation of a science that

Medicine and Surgery—John Bell and the Hunters.

has progressed marvellously since 1795. Then there was John Hunter (1728–1793), surgeon to St. George's Hospital, Surgeon-Extraordinary to the King, investigator of every branch of anatomy, physiology, and pathology, and originator of the museum that is now the property of the Royal College of Surgeons. There was his brother William Hunter, a great surgeon also, and founder of the museum that is the pride of Glasgow University. And, again, another Bell—Sir Charles Bell (1774–1842)—the early authority on the nervous system and its functions. There is a galaxy of great Scottish physicians and surgeons, men like Forbes, Gregory, Abercrombie, and Allison, who accomplished so much during the early development of the science of healing; but their records must be passed over with the slightest mention that later, and perhaps more famous, names may be considered.

Chloroform.

Sir James Young Simpson (1811–1870), "to whose genius and benevolence the world owes the blessings derived from the use of chloroform for the relief of suffering," was so sensitive as a student that he contemplated retiral from the medical profession in which the practitioner must witness so much distress. Fortunately for posterity, the intention was never carried out, and Simpson continued his studies, bearing always in his mind that it was "the proud mission of the physician . . . to alleviate human suffering." Anaesthesia appealed to him as the desirable condition under which operations should be carried out, but he was dissatisfied with nitrous oxide, sulphuric ether and other agents previously advocated, and proceeded in his research for the ideal anodyne. With two assistants, Dr. Keith and Dr. Duncan, he tested, night after night, the effects of various preparations, till at last the dramatic discovery of chloroform was made. The story has been vividly related by Professor Miller—

"Late one evening—it was the 4th of November, 1847 . . . Dr. Simpson, with his two friends and assistants . . . sat down to their somewhat hazardous task in Dr. Simpson's dining-room. Having inhaled several substances, but without effect, it occurred to Dr.

Simpson to try a ponderous material, which . . . he had hitherto regarded as of no likelihood whatever. This happened to be a small bottle of chloroform. . . With each tumbler newly charged, the inhalers resumed their vocation. Immediately an unwonted hilarity seized upon the party, they became bright-eyed, very happy and very loquacious—expatiating on the delicious aroma of the new fluid. . . But suddenly there was a talk of sounds being heard like those of a cotton-mill, louder and louder; a moment more, then all was quiet, and then—a crash! On awakening, Dr. Simpson's first perception was mental—'This is far better and stronger than ether,' said he to himself. His second was, to note that he was prostrate on the floor, and that among the friends about him there was both confusion and alarm."

Those dispassionate scientists! Soon, in spite of clerical objection, chloroform was in general use. Wrote Oliver Wendell Holmes: "The fierce extremity of suffering has been steeped in the waters of forgetfulness, and the deepest furrow in the knotted brow of agony has been smoothed for ever."

Lord Lister.

Joseph, first Lord Lister (1827–1912) was not a Scot by birth, but his work, begun and completed as it was in Scotland, justifies the inclusion here of his famous name. The first credit of discovering the destructive possibilities of unfriendly bacteria must be accorded to the name of Pasteur; Lister's work was a direct inspiration from the researches of the great French bacteriologist. Fifty years ago, the greatest danger encountered by surgeons was in the putrefactive processes consequent upon most operations. Erysipelas, gangrene, pyaemia, and other scourges were the all too common sequels of most surgical processes, and Lister, a surgeon in the Royal Infirmary of Glasgow, became deeply interested in the possibilities of avoiding them. The investigations of Pasteur pointed the way. Lister went more particularly into the question of wounds, proved conclusively that these mortifying diseases were caused by the introduction of germs into the open sore—and the result was antiseptic surgery, Listerism, which has saved an incalculable number of lives in the last sixty years. In the first six months of its working in Glasgow, the post-operation mortality was reduced from 45 per cent. to 15 per cent.; and since then its perfection has proved it the

most wondrous advance in preventive science. Few men have been accorded the honours that showered upon Lister; they were well deserved. "My Lord," said the American Ambassador at a Royal Society banquet, "it is not a profession, it is not a nation, it is humanity itself which, with uncovered head, salutes you."

Tropical Disease—Sir Ronald Ross.

Tropical disease, its nature, prevention and cure, is a field of investigation that grows in importance with the development of our tropical colonies, and the scourge of malaria, the ague of the old physicians, is one that most frequently attacks the white man in Africa and the East. It was once believed that malaria originated from some vague sort of miasma or exhalation of marshy land, until Dr. Laveran, a French army surgeon, discovered in the blood of malarial patients a peculiar parasite which, later, was found to pass a portion of its life in the bodies of mosquitoes. Sir Ronald Ross (b. 1857), poet and scientist, was the first to trace this curious life-cycle and to prove that the malarial parasites are first found in human blood, are thence extracted by mosquitoes and, after developing to an injectional stage in these frail organisms, are again injected into the human body by the shrewd bite. Briefly, the extermination of malaria hinges upon the extermination of mosquitoes. The task is not so formidable as might appear, and many districts that were once sickly homes of disease have been rendered habitable again by the systematic destruction of mosquito larvae. Ross's profound discoveries inspired the American doctors in their campaign against yellow-fever during the Spanish-American war, and led to the identification of a fever-carrying insect.

Sir David Bruce.

A development of this line of investigation enabled Sir David Bruce (b. 1855) and Lady Bruce to trace the origin of sleeping-sickness to the tsetse-fly. The belief was formerly held that this disease, which claims its thousands yearly, was fatal only to the black man, but the death of Lieutenant Tulloch

in Uganda—whither he had gone to investigate the scourge—was proof to the contrary. The investigations of the Bruces showed that, while the tsetse-fly is not of itself venomous, it carries poison matter, and having acquired the parasites from an afflicted person, develops and transmits them to every living thing with which it comes into contact. This valuable discovery is not yet developed to the full, but there is ample justification for the hope that the fell carriers will suffer in time the fate of the malarial mosquito.

Surgeons.

Temperament, one would think, goes as far to the making of a surgeon as manipulative dexterity, and the Scottish mentality, calm, thorough and decisive, would appear the ideal equipment for the performer of vital operations. So it has proved in point of fact, and the name-plates of Harley Street have borne witness to the fecundity and excellence of the northern medical schools. The names are legion, and so defy intelligent enumeration; but there occurs the name of Sir A. Morell-Mackenzie (1837–1892), who quarrelled with the German surgeons, carried out that sensational throat-operation on Emperor Frederick, and returned to spend the remainder of his life in polemics; and the name of George Buchanan (1827–1905), the high expert in mouth-and-jaw operations. But not every surgeon is an originator or inventor, and the greatest modern reputations pale beside those two names of men that made modern surgery: Sir James Young Simpson, and Joseph, Lord Lister.

Exploration.

There is a venerable legend which tells that the language spoken at the North Pole is none other than "braid Scots," and while the triumph of Commander Peary adduced no evidence in support of the theory, the tale carries a subtle compliment to the Scots as travellers and discoverers. They are great colonists, we know; it is in the blood; but they are also super-colonists—that is, pioneers, explorers, discoverers. No race is so attached to its homeland, so parochial, so much given to

THE CLYDE AT BOTHWELL CASTLE

sentimentalising over its ain folk or the lone sheiling on the misty isle—and no race goes so far afield in the quest for scientific truth or to trumpet abroad the glories of the Presbyterian creed. These motives have inspired many famous men. Add to them the motives supplied by hardship at home and religious persecution, and we discover why Nova Scotia is so called, why the Darien Scheme was embarked upon, and why the vernacular of the Falkland Islands differs little from that of Lowland Scotland. Consider further modern conditions and the rise of the steamship, and we know why the stoker-engineer of a Canton tug-boat hails from Clydeside, and why a certain disreputable Arab merchant of Port Said describes himself as "Jock Ferguson, b'long Greenock."

Mungo Park.

The dark continent of Africa has ever been the most powerful magnet for the steel of exploring minds, and many Scottish lives have been surrendered in its rank jungles in the causes of science and religion alike. One of the earliest names famous in this connection is that of Mungo Park (1771–1806), a native of Selkirk and a graduate of medicine of Edinburgh University. He was first a surgeon in the mercantile marine, in which capacity he journeyed to Sumatra, and, returning, roused the attention of great scientists by the thoroughness and value of his botanical and zoological discoveries. At the age of 24 he enlisted with the African Association and proceeded on a voyage of discovery up the unknown waters of the Niger. Again the results were scientifically valuable, and the straightforward account of his travels—*Travels in the Interior of Africa*—had a great popular success. It seemed then that the *wanderlust* had subsided, for Park married and settled to the practice of medicine in the town of Peebles. But Africa called insistently. In 1805 he undertook another expedition at the request of the Government, and from this he never returned. A brave man who, in his short life, had achieved much in biological investigation and

written a classic of travel, lost his life in conflict with natives.

David Livingstone (1813–1873) is a still greater figure in the annals of exploration. He was born at Blantyre where he worked in a cotton-mill until, at the age of 24, the idea of foreign missionary work fired his imagination. He qualified, took service with the London Missionary Society, and set out for South Africa in 1846. His duties took him occasionally into the great unmapped interior, and the interest aroused by these first wanderings developed into a passion for exploration, bringing about the discovery of Lake Ngami in 1849, and of the Zambesi in 1851. A visit to England resulted in the publication of *Missionary Travels* in 1857, and his retiral from the Society which had employed him. But the lure of discovery was still powerful, and Livingstone set out at the head of another expedition which discovered Lake Shirwa and Lake Nyassa. In 1865, a second book appeared, *The Zambesi and its Tributaries*, and a third expedition set out towards the Nile Basin. This time, misfortune dogged the footsteps of Livingstone; Lake Bangweolo was discovered and, less fortunately, a cannibal country from which, after unspeakable dangers and suffering, the party was rescued by the famous relief expedition of Stanley. These adventures would have given an ordinary man his fill of African travel, but Livingstone, well up in the 'fifties, turned again to the dark continent to find the sources of the Nile. This was the last journey, for he died in Ilala. The body was brought reverently to England and laid in the Abbey. It reads like the wildest romance, the life of this simple, noble, and fearless pioneer. As a missionary, he did his duty faithfully; as an explorer, he opened up new ground and looked to the natives for its development; and, as a geographer, he did more than any other to increase our knowledge of Central and Eastern Africa. A great, simple man was David Livingstone.

Livingstone.

That example has been nobly followed; there are graves

of Scottish missionary-explorers in every continent of the world. Some laboured and died unknown, and others are almost legendary figures in the north—like that David Chalmers, "Chalmers of New Guinea," who worked for years among the cannibals and was their victim in the end. In Africa the work goes on. There are men like Daniel Crawford, the author of *Thinking Black*, who, clad in the kilt of his native land, labours in Central Africa practising the science of medicine and the faith of a broad Christianity.

Polar Exploration.

Polar exploration seems to be the least popular form of travel among the Scots, for the great northern names are associated more with the lands of torrid climate. One modern name, however, is associated with Antartic exploration—the undertaking was, indeed, a national affair. Dr. Bruce led the Scottish Antarctic Expedition southward in the early years of this present century. The journey was financed by public subscription, and the explorer looked to the Government for a subsidy to defray the heavy expenses. This, however, was refused, and the *Scotia* sailed away lacking the moral and practical support that has assisted most enterprises of the kind. The object was not attained, but Dr. Bruce returned with valuable information concerning the natural characteristics of the South Polar regions and after having laid down much that proved useful to subsequent travellers. One Scotsman figured largely in the most dramatic of all Antarctic expeditions. This was Lieut. H. R. Bowers —"Little Bowers"—who perished with Captain Scott and Dr. Wilson in the hut in latitude 70° 40′S.

The Scottish Philosophers.

No review of Scottish science is to be considered complete lacking reference to those great figures—part scientist, part *littérateurs*—the philosophers, moralists, and economists. The Scottish School of Philosophy has been for two centuries a very potent factor in the sphere of world-thought; modern Empiricism builds upon it, as the German ideal philosophy has grown

out of opposition to it; and its founders and protagonists have earned wider fame than many other prophets more honoured in their own land. The greatest name is that of Alexander Hume (1711–1776) who, it is only reasonable to consider, was the founder of the School, and the butt of German refutation through Kant. Hume was a great genius, an original thinker, and a keen enquirer into the views of previous metaphysicians. In the end, his philosophy of the mind, considered as a self-subsisting entity, was analogous to that of Berkeley, the Englishman, whose concern was more in relation to matter. It was sceptical, agnostic, empirical. It was a theory of ideas and perceptions that concluded in an uncompromising theory of causality: "All events seem entirely loose and separate. One event follows another, but we never can observe any tie between them. They seem conjoined, but never connected." This is Cartesian thought—the cult that binds together Lock, Berkeley, Malebranche and Hume as the apostles of the same sceptical system. Against the name of Hume, there must be set that of Thomas Reid (1710–1796), who for a time had followed Berkeley, then had revised his theories after study of Hume's system, and finally came forward with an examination of the Cartesian school and the new theory of the "common-sense" philosophy—the beliefs common to rational thinkers as such.

Given the foundations builded by Hume, the Scottish school flourished with protagonists too specialised and too numerous for detailed consideration. But exotic influences were at work on British thought. Kant and his followers formed an intellectual opposition so powerful and self-contained as to wean native thinkers from tradition, and in time we find men like Thomas Carlyle deeply if not wholly sympathetic towards German idealism. In Sir William Hamilton (1788–1856) there is the would-be reconciler of Scottish and German thought. He was the first of the cosmopolitans, a man of wide reading and sympathy, whose attempt at synthetic reconciliation, if

Sir William Hamilton.

imperfect, was a notable enterprise and successful in so far as it dissipated much of the provincialism that had previously hedged in native philosophy. His doctrine is known generally, if not very lucidly, as the *Quantification of the Predicate*—which is to say, that any assertion on any subject must be so qualified as to state explicitly whether that assertion applies to a class of things in general, to a section of the class, or to the individual components of the class. Unfortunately, Hamilton was somewhat inconclusive, both as logician and philosopher, and it was for his pupil Baynes to formulate his conclusions more definitely. Briefly and practically, his aim was generous; it was to find a working basis for the coaptation of two divergent systems. The ideal was no doubt reasonably clear in Hamilton's mind, but that mind, in demonstration at least, could never harmonise the philosophy of the perception with the philosophy of the conditioned.

Idealism.

The last phase to be considered is the complete acceptance by many Scottish philosophers of the Kantian and Hegelian idealism and their continual opposition to the empiricism of the forerunners. James Frederick Ferrier (1808–1864) was the first prophet of the new movement, his *Institutes of Metaphysics* possessing a strong affinity with the central doctrines of Fichte. His main point was to eliminate the psychological element in favour of a rational deduction from first principles. Following him, was James Hutchison Stirling (1820–1909) an ardent reconciler of philosophy and religion, and a faithful disciple of Hegel. He fought a doughty battle against the thought of Mill and Spencer for love of Kant and Hegel. John Caird (1820–1898) and his brother Edward Caird (1835–1908), the former a theologian of repute throughout the Protestant world, carried on the banner of religious idealism. Edward was the more trenchant writer, and his expositions of the Kantian doctrine are triumphs of philosophic argument. Alexander Campbell Fraser (1819–1914) was among the personal idealists, leaning rather towards the idealism of

Berkeley, and tending towards contemporary movements of thought. This group was powerful. In its day, the trend of Scottish philosophy was altered vastly by great protagonists like Fraser, Caird and Bain, whose professorial status gave them access to a greater thinking public. They were the large figures of an important epoch.

The science of political economy may be said to have been founded by Adam Smith (1723–1790), whose *Wealth of Nations* marked an epoch in world-thought. Of that great work it is unnecessary to deal at length; it has influenced the economic history of the world more than any other of its kind; but one influence is to be noted: that it led to a wider study of economics and, in the end, to the utilitarian philosophy of John Stuart Mill and his father. The senior, James Mill (1773–1836), dealt mainly with political theory, aiming at a determination of the best form of political order by a combination of philosophy and economics. Latterly, he became interested in more psychological speculation, and his *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind* provided a basis for the utilitarian system of his more famous son. John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) was a worthy successor in utilitarianism of his father and Bentham. But his view was broader than that of the founders of the school; their tenets were too rigid for his own intellectual—and moral—needs, and he brought about a widening of view and even the introduction of a mild idealism. The bulk of his work dwells upon the imperfections of the cosmos and the impossibility of its having been created by a Deity; but, in the end, in one of his last essays, there is outlined a theistic doctrine, tentative and limited, but very suggestive. Mill's was the dominant thought in all the philosophy of the early nineteenth century. Alexander Bain (1818–1903) was closely associated with John Stuart Mill, assisted him in many works, and contributed largely to the power of the utilitarian school by the reinstatement of the physiological factor as an elucidation of mental processes.

Economics—Adam Smith and the Mills.

CHAPTER XV

THE PRESS

It is almost surprising that the Scots, polemical, logical, and prone to dialectics as they are, had not evolved for themselves a newspaper service long before Daniel Defoe had established such an organisation in England. One dreams of the potentialities of a vigorous organ in Reformation days—had only education and mechanism been so far developed—or of a swinging " leader " anent the Covenanting upheaval. And it is more surprising when we consider that popular education at that time was established on a more general scale than in England. Nowadays, Scotland's journalistic standard is high. From the capital emanates a monthly magazine which is justly considered the highest of its class in these Isles, while the two great morning papers of the north suffer nothing by comparison with the best of metropolitan journals. But these are developments; the beginnings of the Scottish Press had their birth beyond the Tweed.

The Beginnings.

A national Press blossomed in a broadsheet bearing the sensational title of the *Scottish Scout's Discoveries*. This organ made its appearance in 1642 and was written and published in England. There is little evidence remaining of the opinions and career of the sleuth whose journal was followed in 1643 by the *Scots Intelligencer* and the *Scots Dove*, both published like their forerunner in the southern kingdom. Their careers, it must be presumed, were distinguished more by brevity than by literary excellences, for we hear nothing further of Scottish journalism until 1652 when a news-sheet, actually written and printed in Scotland, was issued for the convenience of Cromwell's soldiers who were then engaged in combating royalist learnings and, incidentally, in ravaging such

cathedrals and churches as the Reformation had left standing. But this again was a short-lived concern, and nothing definitely Scottish appeared until 1660, when one Sydserf, the son of a bishop, launched into the perilous seas of newspaper ownership with the *Mercurius Caledonius*. Here was a Scottish journal, indeed, in name, sentiment and proprietorship. The records inform us that the *Mercurius* was so Scottish as to be pan-Scottish, a fact that was doubtless contributory to the shortness and turbulence of its career. Sydserf's venture was succeeded by a sheet on more conventional lines, the *Edinburgh Gazette* of 1680 which had a fitful existence, but was, in a sense, the corner-stone of the Scottish Press.

The superstructure of this foundation grew strong at the time of the Union in 1707, that auspicious event which did so much to develop the commercial Scotland and which coincided with the most active phase of the journalistic life of Daniel Defoe. This redoubtable scribe extended his connection to the northern kingdom and, in 1705, became associated with the *Edinburgh Courant*, a resuscitation of the *Gazette*. The *Courant*, again, died in infancy, but was revived eight years later under the old name of the *Edinburgh Gazette*, with a sub-title of the *Scots Postman*. After that establishment, the newspaper ceased to be a rarity, and a growing demand was satisfied by an increasing number of periodicals. In 1715 the West came into line with Edinburgh through the *Glasgow Courant*, in 1718 the old *Courant* re-appeared under new ownership and management as the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, and in 1720 there came a second *Caledonian Mercury*, a second *Glasgow Journal;* while the far north brought itself up to date in 1748 with the publication of the *Aberdeen Journal* and *North British Magazine*. An *Edinburgh Advertiser* appeared in 1763, and in 1782 the first of the modern journals came into being as the *Glasgow Advertiser*, changing its name later to *Glasgow Herald and Advertiser*, and lastly to the *Glasgow Herald*, still the foremost journal of the commercial Scotland.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, a Scottish Press may be said to have been definitely established. With the exception of the *Glasgow Herald* none of the pioneer journals has survived, and the lustiest periodicals of to-day are those that saw the light during that remarkable period of literary activity which lasted through the life of Walter Scott. Commercial expansion has resulted naturally in the growth of the provincial Press, and few towns of size are without a local organ. The sparsely inhabited districts are served by county journals, a typical sheet being the *Oban Times*, which is the guide and informer of a widely-scattered public in the West Highlands. But as the Englishman must study his *Times* or *Manchester Guardian* or *Yorkshire Post* before turning to the local interest of his parochial newspaper, so the Scot leans against the staunch pillars of the *Scotsman* or *Glasgow Herald*. These two eminent journals are the clear voices of Scottish national opinion. Scotland is a small province, and the newspapers from Edinburgh or Glasgow can reach the uttermost point of the Isles by the evening of publication at the latest. In the same way, certain sections of the English Press exert some influence in the Lowlands. The London penny morning papers are not available in Glasgow until late in the afternoon, but items of the Northcliffe Press—principally the *Daily Mail*—the Manchester edition of the *Daily News*, and the two illustrated journals, the *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Sketch*, are on sale before breakfast in the shops and stations. And their cheapness and manner appeal strongly to certain sections of the industrial public. The reason, of course, is obvious: Scotland has nothing of her own quite on the lines of the "new journalism"—her own Press is from a different mould.

English Competition.

Before passing to a more detailed consideration of individual journals, it is of interest to note how the higher development of printing and publishing has taken place in the capital, though Glasgow does not lag far behind in this respect.

The aspiring Scot of to-day sets his face resolutely towards London and the south, while the literary tyro of a century past saw no further than Edinburgh. That city was the Mecca, for there, then, was the literary circle of the nation, there Scott, Burns, Ramsay, Fergusson and a host of lesser lights walked and talked. It was a natural development in a capital where are the seats of law and learning. Everything great was written in the atmosphere of Auld Reekie, and, not less important, everything was printed in the neighbourhood. Papermaking has been a staple industry in Midlothian since 1695, and typography a high art since James IV authorised Walter Chapman and Andrew Mollar to print books, thirty years after Caxton's establishment in Westminster Abbey. One has but to glance at the books of a library to find a fair proportion of Edinburgh names at the ends. Great publishing houses grew out of this industry, and, though some have migrated to London, the names of Blackwood, Chambers, Constable, Ballantyne, Nelson, Foulis and others must ever be associated with the northern capital. The first and the ninth editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* came from the presses of Edinburgh, Ballantyne produced the Waverley novels that brought the capital its greatest literary fame, and the magazines of Blackwood's and Chambers's carried on the reputation to modern times.

Printing and Publishing—Edinburgh.

But Edinburgh's monopoly of the printing trade is not now so complete as it once was; two other University towns were early in the field, and their presses have risen to some importance in recent years. Typography came to Glasgow from Edinburgh with one, George Anderson, who appears to have been a paid official of the Town Council. He was succeeded in the post by Robert Sanders whose emoluments were fixed at Forty Pounds Scots. From these humble beginnings an extensive Press has grown, and, in the matter of newspaper printing, the output of Glasgow is much larger than that of

Aberdeen and Glasgow.

Edinburgh. Publishing, however, is not such a vigorous interest, though the firms of Collins, Hodge, and MacElhose are well known to the lover of books. The city of Aberdeen made an early start in printing, and the Press of Edward Raban published, in 1623, the earliest Scottish almanac. The Aberdonian presses and papermaking establishments are now in serious rivalry with the more historic institutions of Midlothian, and have secured a fair share of work for the London publishers.

"Maga."

The renown of "Maga" is so general, its quality so high that it were almost impertinence to enter upon a description of the magazine published by Messrs. Wm. Blackwood and Sons of Edinburgh. To criticise were sacrilege. It is a century since *Blackwood's Magazine* came into being, and the staff of writers which made it famous from the first included the most brilliant members of the brilliant literary circle of contemporary Edinburgh. "Christopher North," J. G. Lockhart, the biographer of Scott, Alexander Hogg and Michael Scott head a lengthy roll of honour. The early periodical was chiefly critical and historical, and we find the following subjects dealt with in the first volume: Bonaparte at St. Helena, Cobbett, Craniology, Greek Tragedy, Animal Magnetism, Oath of Bread and Salt, etc.—a very varied intellectual fare. Fiction soon became a feature, and it is interesting to note that one of the earliest contributions was Moir's *Mansie Wauch.* There followed stories by Galt, Michael Scott, Samuel Warren and a host of famous names, including that of De Quincey. It would be hopeless to attempt a full list of the now famous writers "nursed" by *Blackwood,* for the history of "Maga" is the history of modern literature. George Eliot, Mrs. Oliphant, Charles Lever, Anthony Trollope, R. D. Blackmore, L. B. Walford, D. S. Meldrum, Beatrice Harraden, Neil Munro, Joseph Conrad—these are a fraction of the great names that have shone in its pages. And that lofty standard is maintained whether it be in history, criticism,

fiction or conservative politics, *Blackwood's* is the doyen of the "gentleman's" magazine, and it is yet the most interesting.

Blackwood's is the only periodical of its kind emanating from the north, for the *Edinburgh Review*, written, published, and printed in England, is Scottish only in name. In the same way, the *Celtic Review* and the *Scottish Review*, though purely native productions, deal in specialised matter and so appeal only to a limited public. But there is one other monthly, which, if it has not achieved the exclusiveness of "Maga," is of high interest in the historical sense and has retained a sound standard through the eighty-five years of its existence. *Chambers' Journal* was founded in 1832, by Robert Chambers, the historian, and his brother William. Their aim was to provide popular and instructive literature at a price within the reach of all, and in this laudable intention the *Journal* succeeded admirably. It was and is, in effect, a popular *Blackwood's*, including articles that combined teaching with human and scientific interest and not ignoring fiction. Among the names of early contributors we find those of David Christie Murray, Mrs. Oliphant, Grant Allen, W. Clark Russell, Walter Besant, and a host of minor novelists. To this day *Chambers' Journal* is quite unique; no other periodical of the kind is published in the country, and few other magazines possess such a faithful following. Politics, sensation, and illustration are rigorously eschewed, and the *Journal* seems like an honest survival of the days when the literary art was more painstaking and serious than now.

Chambers' and other Monthlies.

Scotland makes no contribution to the ranks of weekly journals in the politico-critical manner of the *Spectator*, *Saturday Review* or *Nation*, and this is one of many instances of the English Press being sufficient to cope with Scottish demands. An attempt was made by the late W. E. Henley to establish a Scottish periodical of this kind in the *Scots Observer*, which, published in Edinburgh, had a distinguished career until it

Absence of Weekly Reviews.

was found necessary to transfer the editorial offices to London. The title was changed to the *National Observer*, and the review, being then neither wholly English nor wholly Scottish, came to an end. It is, indeed, doubtful if such a journal could ever be established in Scotland with any hope of success. National considerations have little scope in that particular manner; and national sentiment is ever weakening. Again, the weekly review does not take part in the race for circulation and early sales, and the existing London papers of established reputation are unlikely to be supplanted by any native production. In the same respect Scotland has nothing home-made to compete with popular magazines like *Pearson's* or the *Royal*; with weekly illustrated papers like the *Sphere* or *Graphic*, or, indeed, with any of the diverse weekly productions of London. It is only in the daily newspaper Press that we find any immediate and adequate expression of Scottish nationality and politics.

Glasgow Morning Papers.

Glasgow, as the largest city of Scotland and the second of the Empire, is best supplied in the matter of news sheets. It is the hub of Lowland commerce, and the headquarters of the rich industries of engineering and ship-building, and its great morning newspaper is a worthy organ of interests so important. The *Glasgow Herald*, as we have seen, dates from 1782, and is probably the oldest of leading provincial dailies, as it is, with the *Manchester Guardian*, among the most powerful and distinguished. Up till the Home Rule conflict of the 'eighties, the *Herald* had been staunchly Liberal in view; since that split, however, it has been staunchly Unionist. But, like all great papers, the *Glasgow Herald* has never condescended to be a purely party organ, for not unseldom have it and the *Scotsman* of Edinburgh held out against factious political measures in the broader interests of nationality and justice. And that quality is one which appeals peculiarly to the Scottish people, who—though differing from their expressed politics—look upon their two leading organs as fulfilling the

highest office of the Press. The Scottish newspaper must be that or nothing. There is no room for such an anachronism as a proprietary journal, no hearing for a demagogic politician, and to be powerful the northern journal must, in the end, be all for the State and not at all for the party. That high principle, jealously guarded by the *Glasgow Herald* has, along with the material and moral force of the community which it represents, given it place as the greatest paper in Scotland. A second morning paper, priced at one halfpenny, appears in Glasgow in the form of the *Daily Record and Mail.* The *Record* is a far-flung outpost of the new fashion in journalism and views matters political from a strongly Radical standpoint. Whatever may be said of its importance from a national point of view, there can be little doubt of its popularity and power among the labouring classes in the Clyde basin.

Evening Sheets.

Of evening papers, Glasgow has a sufficiency. The *Evening Times* is an offshoot of the *Herald* and, like its patron journal, Unionist in view. The *Evening Citizen* is an old-established and sanely conducted paper that makes a peculiar appeal to the business classes. As an advertising medium its reputation extends far beyond the city of its birth. The *Evening News* is, perhaps, the most popular of the group. Like its fellows, the *News* specialises largely in sport, but has a high reputation as a literary organ, mainly through connection with Mr. Neil Munro whose special articles and reviews are standards in the West of Scotland. Glasgow's local spirit finds its best expression in the evening journals, but in this connection we are provided with an interesting sidelight on the much-discussed power of the Press. The four most representative and powerful organs of the western city are frankly Unionist in politics; five of the seven constituencies of Glasgow return Radical members, Unionists holding the two remaining seats that are more or less controlled by the business vote. The political bias of the Scot is not easily diverted. In Glasgow, also, are published the sole representatives in Scotland of the

illustrated journal of sport and outdoor life: the *Scots Pictorial*, weekly, and the *Scottish Field* and *Scottish Country Life* monthly.

The "Scotsman."

The *Scotsman* is untroubled by opposition from any other morning paper in the capital, and, indeed, its age, stability, and reputation would hold it immune from prejudicial competition, even if the population of Edinburgh were sufficient to justify a rival journal. Exactly a century old—it was first published on 25th January, 1817, at the price of 10d.—the *Scotsman* has been in that long period under the control of only five editors. It has been described by various appreciators as "the best sub-edited newspaper in Scotland," and Mr. G. Binney Diblee, in his brochure "The Newspaper," ascribed its excellence to the efforts of two able men, Mr. Alexander Russell—editor for thirty years—and Mr. James Law, "probably the ablest newspaper manager in the kingdom." The journal opened its career as a voice of the Whig party—its early views were described by Carlyle as "a little violent"—and it has been vigorously Unionist for some decades past. The policy of the *Scotsman*, trenchantly proclaimed, has not always commended itself to the mass of Scottish people; during the religious difficulties arising out of the union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches, it espoused the cause of the "Wee Frees"; but its straightforward dealing and able editorship have ranked it with the *Herald* of Glasgow as the highest achievement of Scottish journalism. The centenary number declares: "It is with unflagging conviction that the *Scotsman* has through all these years supported the cause of constitutional liberty; it has never failed to perceive the danger of faction whichever class it may affect." Evening newspapers are not numerous in Edinburgh, two sufficing to meet the needs of the community. The *Evening News* is professedly independent in view, while the *Evening Dispatch* is a recent development, issued from the office of the *Scotsman*. Again the power of a Unionist Press in Scotland is illustrated

in Edinburgh, which is represented in Parliament by three Radical members and one Unionist.

The East Coast.

Only in the extreme east, where the people are of a hard and serious cast of thought, do we come upon leading journals that are strongly Liberal in political outlook. In these parts, from Forfarshire round the coastline to Ross and Cromarty, there is not one constituency that is represented by a Unionist Member of Parliament, and only one leading newspaper that dares to voice antagonistic sentiments in this province of Scottish Radicalism. Dundee finds stimulus in two strongly Liberal organs: the *Dundee Advertiser*, possibly the most powerful journal in the east, and the *Dundee Courier*. Aberdeen's leading organ, the *Free Press*, is politically opposed by the Unionist *Daily Journal*. These all are prominent newspapers, closely in touch with the sentiments of their supporting public, and wielding a very real influence on the results in both parochial and constitutional politics.

"Week-end" Journals.

As a development of the East Coast journalism, we must consider one popular, if not politically important section of the Scottish Press. The Dundee firm of Leng's can assuredly claim to be the pioneers in Scotland, at least, of the homely "week-end" paper. Their *People's Journal* was first published so far back as 1858, and has retained and increased a working-class public by astute provision of "family reading of an exciting kind"—topical articles, detective stories, and serials. Of a more sentimental cast, the *People's Friend*, with its love serials and articles of domestic interest, has a large and devoted following among the housewives of the north. In the same manner, *Happy Home* and *My Weekly* make a deliberate and successful appeal to the working classes. A second Dundee firm, that of Thomson's, is in the field with the *Red Letter*, *Girl's Weekly*, *Weekly Welcome*, *Weekly Companion*, and *Weekly News*. The popularity of this class of domestic journal in Scotland is a wondrous manifestation, and the

aggregate circulation of its representatives would form an illuminating commentary on the home-keeping propensities of the Scottish working man and his wife, as fostered by the presses of Dundee. Latterly the week-end or Sunday newspaper has specialised in sport and reviews of the all-important League football encounters. The *Weekly Record* of Glasgow and the *Post* of Dundee are the leading protagonists of this cult. In a more literary vein, the *Scotsman* and the *Glasgow Herald* issue weekly journals, which, though frankly popular in appeal, are worthy examples of the instructive journals so popular among the lower middle classes of Scotland. In recent years the effect of competition from the south has been more clearly marked. Even on Sundays the English papers, illustrated and otherwise, are available in the Lowland towns at an early hour and have proved serious rivals to the native publications. The immediate effect on Scottish journals has been a great increase in the number and quality of illustrations.

The Lure of Fleet Street.

The profession of journalism is one that strongly attracts the educated Scot who, with the pertinacity of his race, has insinuated himself in very considerable numbers into the editorial chairs and staffs of practically every journal in the kingdom. It is difficult to say why this predilection should be so strikingly characteristic of the man from the north. The reason is to be found, possibly, partly in the national system of education which ensures a broad grounding on most subjects, partly in business capability and inherent passion for control, and partly in the native fondness for disquisition and exposition on all subjects on and beyond the earth. Your true Scot has opinions on most things and an assured manner of voicing them—qualities that make for success in the newspaper-writer's profession. Again, writing is almost a tradition among the educated classes in Scotland, and most youthful students of arts have before them the example of a Thomas Carlyle or a Robert Louis Stevenson or a James Matthew Barrie;

they are fired by the legends of ploughmen's and parsons' sons who, from the reporter's room of a London newspaper, have attained to the editorial chair and fame.

Some Famous Names.

To catalogue the Scottish names that are known and renowned in modern journalism would be to presume on the patience of readers; for it is a long list, embracing editors and leader-writers, parliamentary correspondents and business managers in Scotland, in London, and abroad. Even the number of those Scots who have risen through journalism to higher things is considerable, and one has but to think, for example, of the shy youth with the East Country accent who presented himself at the office of a Nottingham paper as "the new leader-writer," and who is now Sir James M. Barrie, the great dramatist, or of Dr. Neil Munro who came from a peaceful Highland town to be a reporter on the *Glasgow Evening News*. There are editors of northern birth like the prolific Sir Wm. Robertson Nicoll, who contrives to supply regular columns for three London periodicals—two of them weekly, one monthly—to take an active part in the conduct of a great publishing business, and to discharge a multitude of extraneous public duties.

Since Scotland as a province is so closely in touch with metropolitan affairs and thought, and has long ceased to be a separate entity as Ireland is, the term "Scottish Press" is somewhat anomalous. The popular journals—"week-end" papers, illustrated weeklies, and domestic periodicals of various kinds—are not at all national, except in so far as they deal with parochial affairs. But there is yet a very definite Scottish nationality, still a myriad of questions that demand specialised discussion and treatment, and to these ends a national Press does exist. And the power of that Press is localised in the organs of Glasgow and Edinburgh, particularly in the two great morning papers, the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Scotsman*. *Blackwood's*, which is the greatest Scottish production, is not characteristically Scottish, and for the

rest, the remainder of the provincial Press is nationally unimportant. It is in two papers only that Scottish ideals find their truest expression; and it is to the credit of the Scottish Press that these periodicals are comparable with the best organs of the metropolis.

CHAPTER XVI

SCENERY AND STORY

It may be regarded as a truism that the attraction which a country holds for the tourist is not altogether that of fair landscape and generous climate—that of natural conditions. Something more is required to give completeness to the attractiveness of a province, something to heighten the aesthetic appeal of scenery and provide the atmosphere without which the most gorgeous efforts of nature are, somehow, imperfect. Geography is not everything; but natural beauty, its appeal strengthened by history or legend, gets nearer to the heart of man than all the pictures ever painted, all the books ever written, and all the songs ever sung.

In this respect the visitor to Scotland is peculiarly happy. That little country is a very beautiful one with very many varieties of landscape charms, and history has been made in every single county, almost in every parish that lies to the northward of the Cheviots. Legendary associations crop up in the most unexpected localities, No reasonable tourist would elect to sojourn in Glasgow for any period exceeding that elapsing between the arrival of the London train and the departure of the boat-train for the Firth of Clyde resorts; but Glasgow has one of the few intact Cathedrals of Scotland, and Thomas Tucker, Daniel Defoe, Burt and Smollett, joined in praise of its beauties, one describing it as "a very neat burgh town . . .," another hailing it as "the beautifullest little city," another declaring it "the prettiest and most uniform town I ever saw . . .," and the last triumphing with "one of the prettiest towns in Europe." Alloa and its numerous public-houses and co-operative stores, is unlikely to attract the seeker after beauty, but there is, nevertheless, a strong

suspicion in the minds of antiquarians that the little town on the Forth is no other than the *Alauna* of the Roman occupation. There is comfort, however, in the knowledge that this historical interest is by no means confined to the drab Lowland towns. The remaining four-fifths, mountain, moor and glen, have their stories of love and hate. And it is more than unfortunate for the sympathetic traveller that the paths he must follow are well-beaten, that, travelling through the Western Islands, he must proceed by a "Royal Route," and is, by custom and convention, no more at liberty to follow his own sweet will than any party at the Pyramids under the charge of Cook or Lunn. How many tourists have known the russet beauty of the Cunningham moors "Where about the graves of the martyrs the whaups are crying," or the macharlands of Benbecula where the "sea is all islands, and the land all lakes"?

A Country of Romance.

Here we trench on a third attribute of scenic attractiveness. The greatest of the Scottish romantic writers have made familiar to English minds the place-names and local colour of almost every well-marked district of Scotland, and there is always a longing in the book-loving soul to follow in the footsteps of some hero of story. Scott calls us farthest afield: to Edinburgh through the *Heart of Midlothian*, to Tweeddale through ballads and songs, to Lochlomondside and the Trossachs, and along the Solway coast after Dirk Hatterick. Stevenson is less specialised, but the wanderings of David Balfour and Alan Breck through Appin rouse an elusive desire for a sight of that romantic province, and *Weir of Hermiston* draws us to the Pentlands. With Aeneas Macmaster of Munro's *New Road* we would travel up Glenorchy and over the Pass of Corryarrick to Castle Dounie. Even the lurid palette of William Black has outlined a view of the Western Highlands whose lure it is not easy to resist. Would that every traveller could see Scotland as his fancy dictates, and not according to the recondite rules of the time-tables.

But it is unwise to complain of the tourist and the guide-book in Scotland, for they have combined to form a productive source of income in parts that are naturally unproductive. To imagine that the tourist-stream is a regular flow of the conventional, thorough-going American and unimpressionable Londoner is even greater folly. Scotland's show-places are —if we except Edinburgh and Oban—almost uninhabited places. The routes are not like those of Switzerland and the Rhine, crowded with the obvious sight-seer; a certain wide comprehension, an easy sympathy comes upon those who cross the Border. It is so easy to fall in with Scotland's mood.

The Borders.

The Englishman has not far to travel ere he finds himself in the heart of one of the most romantic and beauteous tracts of Caledonia. So capricious is the border-line that the Evan Cottage of fiction, with its foundations in England and its garden in Scotland, is not an unlikely feature. From Kershope Burn to Carham on the Tweed there is no definite barrier, and only in the extreme west and east are the two kingdoms in any way "sea-divided." The Firth of Solway, however, is a very abrupt boundary, for the vicious tide that can sweep in at ten miles an hour, headed by a man-high roaring wave, renders it treacherously unsafe. This is the Firth of shifting sands that has been the background of at least one Waverley Novel and of many from the pen of the late S. R. Crockett. Its literary interest is strengthened by the neighbourhood of Ecclefechan and Annan, the first renowned as the birthplace of Thomas Carlyle, and the latter as the scene of his youthful teaching work. On the Nith stands Caerlaverock, which Scott made the Ellangowan of *Guy Mannering*; Sweetheart Abbey, under whose altar was buried Devorguila, the mother of John Baliol; and the farm of Ellisland, by Dumfries, where Robert Burns loved and sang. Popular interest is more particularly concentrated on the notorious village of Gretna Green whither came those who, matrimonially inclined, were forced to race

THE GALLOWAY COAST

across the border after the abolition of Fleet marriages. The legendary "priest" was the local blacksmith, but other practitioners—the local ferryman, tollgate-keeper, or innkeeper and the like—were early on the field. Among others availing themselves of this convenient ceremony was one Lord High-Chancellor of England, Lord Erskine (1750–1823), who, late in life, thus espoused a second wife, Miss Buck. The glory of Gretna was shattered by an Act of 1856 requiring that one party to a match must have resided at least twenty-one days in Scotland.

In the Footsteps of Scott.

While discussing the borders, one does not animadvert to the Solway; for us moderns the district indicated is rather that lying to the north of the arbitrary landward boundary-lines and enriched in interest by its literary associations with the Border Ballads and the writings of Walter Scott. It is a pleasant pastoral country this—great swelling hills with summits unbroken by the rocks and gullies so characteristic of Highland mountains, with romantically wooded streams, and a network of valleys, each one guarded by the ruins of an ancient keep. There are towns, of course, grey, unromantic weaving burghs on Tweed and Teviot, but without and around them is a wide tract of open country, green, fresh and spacious. The original ballads of unknown authorship are the direct expression of this land and its resolute, hard people—a race more closely resembling the Western Highlanders, in character and communal faith, at least, than any other. Ever at war internally, and ever involved in the perpetual struggle with English invaders, they were, like all martial people, a literary people. The best of that legacy of ballad poetry is to be found to-day in Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's *Oxford Book of Ballads*. In earlier forms, the ancient songs fired the imagination of Sir Walter Scott, whose first work was the *Border Minstrelsy*, and who realised a dear ambition by making his home at Abbotsford. The house overlooks the Tweed near Melrose, "a huge baronial pile"

with a diversity of architectural and internal features. Good Sir Walter copied a gateway from Linlithgow Palace, a portal from the Old Tolbooth of Edinburgh, a roof from Roslin Chapel, a mantelpiece from Melrose Abbey, oak-work from Holyrood, and a host of features from every part of Scotland. Here he was in the heart of the borders; from hence he was within easy reach—as the twentieth century traveller is—of Melrose Abbey with its great window, Dryburgh Abbey, where his mortal remains are laid, Selkirk and Ettrick Water, Traquair and the Dowie Dens of Yarrow, Peebles and Neidpath Castle on whose tower Mary sat "to watch her love's returning," and all the rich, romantic places of the Southern Uplands.

Further to the west, in a barer, harsher province, is the district of Yarrow, sacrosanct to poetical memories of Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, and the *locus* of a myriad verses in which pathos is the predominant emotion. Perhaps the austerity and melancholy of the great sweeping hills have inspired so many versifiers, or perhaps they were all obsessed by the example of the ancient ballad that described the Dens of Yarrow as "dowie"—sad and sorrowful. But Yarrow is sorrowful in its scenery, in its legends. At the head of the vale are the two lochs: St. Mary's and Loch of the Lowes, and on the spit of land that separates them, St. Margaret's Cottage, better known as "Tibbie Shiel's." That dame—her genuine patronymic was Mrs. Richardson—had been the landlady of Scott, Wordsworth, Wilson, Hogg and every literary celebrity with leanings to traditional observances; the cottage preserves much of its antiquity, and one may yet sit in the kitchen where the poets congregated amidst the box beds and before the great fireplace, or stretch weary limbs in the bedroom patronised by Scott. Two miles down the glen is Mountbenger the home of the Ettrick Shepherd and, further on, the Church of Yarrow, which is the real central point of the genuine Dowie Dens. Newark Castle, where the "Lay of

Yarrow.

the Last Minstrel" was sung to Anna, Duchess of Monmouth, stands in a fringe of woodland above the stream and between the gaunt hills of Newark and Fourshields. At the junction of Yarrow and Ettrick is Philiphaugh, the plain whereon was played out the last act of the shining drama of the famous Montrose. Hither he had come after his Highland conquests to see his army of cavaliers shattered by David Leslie. In the courtyard of Newark Castle were shot many of the captive fragments of his host. Yarrow is verily a land of associations.

The Burns Country.

In the level west country, where the pastures of Ayr give gently to the Firth of Clyde, we come upon the country of Burns. The scenery here is more like that of England than anywhere else in broad Scotland; the fields are lush green and pastured by the elegant Ayrshire cattle, there are hedges to the highways, green trees round the cosy farmhouses, and great estates with orderly policies. But it was not always a district so prosperous, and the cottage wherein Scotland's greatest bard saw light is yet intact to mark the changes of a century. The cottage at Alloway, half a mile from the poet's "bonnie Doon," is thatched as to the roof, and the room wherein he was born has a clay floor, a low roof, and its original furniture. With true Scottish sentimentality, some admiring body has converted the remaining room into a museum of relics and a buffet for the provision of temperance liquids to the thirsty worshippers at the shrine. One is glad to turn away to the sight of the Arran hills, or to walk by the Doon that somehow belies the pastoral character of the surrounding country. Without the hideous monument, the neighbourhood is sufficiently rich in memorials: the Auld Brig of Doon, the Auld Kirk of Alloway, and all the geographical associations of Tam o' Shanter. Alas! there are eligible villas along the banks of Doon now, and a shell palace! Further afield, in the town of Ayr, the Auld Brig of Ayr spans a river that terminates in a harbour whence coal is exported. Sentiment

fought hard for its preservation. Mossgiel, Ballochmyle, Mount Oliphant, Failford and the "Castle o' Montgomerie" are further to the east, well up the valley of the Ayr. It was at Failford Bridge that Burns parted from his Highland Mary in the manner depicted in a German print still common in Scottish households. They stood, according to this interpretation, on opposite sides of the stream and, poising a Bible over the running waters, swore to be true. Mary Campbell is said to have died shortly afterwards at Greenock, and the poet turned to another charmer. The group of towns around the river Ayr—Mauchline, Tarbolton and the rest, are yet boastful of Burns' relics, and cope with a yearly flood of pilgrims as great as that which flows through Stratford-on-Avon.

The Clyde.

Traditional rhyme ascribes to one hillside the honour of giving birth to three important rivers: Annan, Tweed and Clyde; and while the statement is not meticulously accurate, very little separates the courses of Tweed and Clyde in their upper reaches. They flow, however, through landscapes of somewhat different characters. From bare upland moors the Clyde flows about Abington into one of those level valleys characteristic of the Western Lowlands, calm, pastoral, and gentle. Through this vale it winds peacefully, first northward, then westward, then southward, and back towards the north, when its course again becomes disturbed. South of Lanark are the Falls, not voluminous or grand, but strangely charming with their effects of rushing water among rocks and woodland. After Lanark comes another fertile strath, planted with orchards and fruit gardens; but it is all too small in extent, for soon the traveller passes into the grimy lands of commerce. From thence to Greenock, twenty-three miles below Glasgow, there is little to attract. The Clyde valley is not rich in definite literary or historical associations. At Biggar was born Dr. John Brown, the gentle essayist of *Rab and his Friends*. There is a palace at

IN THE KYLES OF BUTE

Hamilton, its art treasures now scattered, an ancient bridge at Bothwell, over which passed the royalist army of Monmouth in pursuit of the Covenanters. The upland moors, indeed, gave hiding to many a persecuted religionist. On the lower waters plied the *Comet*, first of commercial steamboats, and somewhere on the ocean-bed opposite Gourock lie the remains of her sunken hull. Between Glasgow and Greenock are the great shipyards, themselves grimly romantic to those who can see with the modern eye, and set in surroundings that are strikingly contrasted with the scenes on the busy river. Over the northern shore lower the great Highland hills of the country that was once Rob Roy's; the river here is the precise boundary between Highlands and Lowlands. The modern can look dispassionately at Greenock, straggling aimlessly and drably over the Renfrewshire hillface, and be politely surprised to learn that that smoky town, with others on the southern bank, was a long-suffering victim of Macgregor raids at a time when the southern kingdom was lapped securely in peace. In the association of like incidents is much of the spirit and soul of Scotland.

The Firth of Clyde.

Beyond the industrial reaches, the Clyde leads to a wonderland of unique scenic beauty: tortuous lochs and kyles, mountains that retain something of the Lowland character and are imposing without the harsh ruggedness of hills further north, and glens of wistful loveliness. This is the great yachting centre. Is the "Clyde Fortnight" not an event in the nautical world? This is the playground, the open space for the cramped workers of the upper reaches. A unique steamboat service supplies cheap transport, and the traveller can escape from the smoky southern shore to the ostensibly jovial water-places of Rothesay and Dunoon, or, if he prefer it, to the myrtle-scented shore of an almost uninhabited parish. Again, literary and historical allusions are to seek. There are castles and keeps dotted along the green shores, each one with its own troubled story of petty strife, but none, except

those of Dumbarton and Rothesay, possessing any associations with the greater national history. At the head of Loch Long, and running thence to Lochfyneside, is one of the earliest roads built by General Wade for the effective subduing of the Highlands. A bleak highway it is, winding upwards among gaunt peaks, and crowned at the summit of the pass by a stone—set there by Wade's sappers—recommending the wayfarer to "Rest and Be Thankful." The Firth of Clyde has its drawbacks: a rainy climate and crowds of raucous trippers; but it is charming of itself, and leads to lands of greater beauty and romance.

The Western Highlands.

From the Clyde, a Lowland stream, branch off lochs that penetrate into West Highland places and carry the traveller to the comparatively new-found land of the Celts. At the head of Loch Long there is that historical road, and, running northward, Glen Falloch which leads to Crianlarich and thence either to the Trossachs on one hand, or the gaunt moors of the Black Mount on the other. Loch Fyne is yet more Highland, for it winds thróugh the lands of the Campbells and the Maclachlans to Inveraray, the seat of the Dukes of Argyll, and a gateway to Loch Awe with its historic islets, Glen Orchy for the north, and the Pass of Brander for Oban and the west. At the mouth of Loch Fyne is Tarbert, once a great fishing port, and yet the port for the traveller to the isles who must cross the narrow neck of Kintyre to West Loch Tarbert, and thence take boat for his destination. Oban, in the farthest west, is the rallying point of the Western Highlands; a town undistinguished in itself but holding the keys that open the doors to strange, delightful places. It is not essentially a wild country this. The hills are not so lofty that they break into crag at the peaks; the moors are deserted, but not melancholy like those of Rannoch and the hinterland of Knoydart; the valleys are green, moderately cultivated and, generally, well-wooded. There are historical associations here, many of them local and recording clan-strife, but some also that

touch the nation's story, for the Campbells were the powerful Hanoverian clan, dwelling beside strongly Jacobite families. Its literary associations are bound up almost entirely with obscure Gaelic bards like Duncan Ban Macintyre of Glenorchy, but more recently the writings of Neil Munro have brought it into romantic prominence. From the peak of Ben Cruachan can be seen an overwhelmingly wonderful view of Argyllshire and the outlying islands.

Glencoe.

In Benderloch and Appin, northward of Loch Etive, the country begins to assume the ruggedness of the typical Highlands. Appin, however, has its fertile part; the district known as the Airds which looks out on Lismore and its attendant islets. But beyond that it is a harsh, high country, and in one of its passes, a Jacobite Stewart murdered a Hanoverian Campbell chief—Campbell of Glenure. Readers of Stevenson will recollect how that act is ascribed to the mercurial Alan Breck. This wildness of scenery culminates in Glencoe, surely one of the most imposing sights in these isles. The glen leads down from the Black Mount to Lochleven, starting in the black shadow of the conical Buchaille Etive—the Shepherd of Etive — and descending through the grim "Study," till it ends and opens out at sullen Loch Triochatan. A hundred pens have described this pass, and none better than that of Dorothy Wordsworth, but only visual experience can convey the faintest glimmer of its immensity, its awfulness, its atmosphere of tragedy. For tragedy has been enacted here. In 1692 occurred that most treacherous massacre of the innocent Macdonalds. A Celtic cross on a knoll near the Bridge of Cona marks the approximate scene of that drama. Above Loch Triochatan, in the bare, inaccessible face of Aonach Dubh, is a cave called Ossian's, where, according to tradition, an army of clansmen lies sleeping. Further up at a bend of the road, there branches off over the mountains the faint trail of the Devil's Staircase. It is an awe-inspiring pass, Glencoe, and the traveller must agree

with Dorothy Wordsworth: "I cannot attempt to describe the mountains. I can only say that I thought those on our right . . . were the grandest I had ever seen. . . They were such forms as Milton might be supposed to have had in his mind when he applied to Satan that sublime expression—"His stature reached the sky!'"

Oban is a convenient starting-point for an interesting journey among the Hebridean islands. It is but a short sea-journey to Mull of the cray-fish shape, where one can drive along the Ross of Mull, under the shadow of Ben More, to the channel that separates Iona from the parent island. The interest here is, of course, in the remains of the Abbey church and its associations with the introduction of Christianity to Scotland. The island is bare and lonely and produces an elusive feeling of antiquity, of remoteness, heightened by the ruins of St. Mary's Nunnery, St. Oran's Chapel, the tombs of chieftains and priests long dead, the two crosses of St. Martin and Maclean, and the upstanding square tower. Six miles to the north-east is a greater wonder, the uninhabited basaltic formation of Staffa with its great vaulted Fingal's Cave. It is unnecessary to describe this 75 yard cave, its perfectly-formed pillars, or its clear water through which the coloured sea-rocks glisten in the varying lights. Fingal's is not the only cave on this remarkable freak island; there are Clamshell, Boat, and MacKinnon's caves round the cliffs; but the famous grotto is alone worthy of its association with the Ossianic hero. To the south of Iona is Earraid, the Aros of Stevenson's *Merry Men*. The island of Eigg, to the north of Mull, aroused the geological interest of Hugh Miller, and possesses moreover, some associations of antiquarian interest. In the sixteenth century a band of Macleods chanced to pay a visit and were hospitably entertained by the native Macdonalds, until their attentions to the maidens of the isle so aroused the Macdonald ire that the visitors were bound hand and foot and set adrift in a boat. They were rescued by their

Iona and Staffa.

Photo by *A. J. Munro*

THE PAP OF GLENCOE

clansmen who, having manned the galleys, hastened to a swift revenge on Eigg. The natives took shelter in Frances' cave and were there smothered by the gentlemen from Skye. In a more modern sense, the island is interesting as being organised on a rational and successful crofter system, very different from that of Rum which bears the Highland burden of deer.

Skye, the island of the mist, has deep interests for the geologist, the antiquarian and the plain man seeking refuge from the pre-occupation of a commercial age.

Skye.

One writer has said: "In Skye one is free of one's century; the present wheels away into silence and remoteness. . . In Skye the Londoner is visited with a stranger sense of foreignness than in Holland or in Italy,"—and a hundred others have borne out these sentiments and offered description of the island's grim beauties. It is a mountainous land, particularly in the southern part, where the Cuchullin peaks overlook the fierce, lonely grandeur of Loch Coruisk. The mountains, peaked and serrated wonderfully, are grouped in a semicircle round the loch which possesses the eerie quality of so many Highland sheets. To climb these Cuchullins is neither easy nor safe, but a patient mountaineer is rewarded by a bewildering view of the Ross-shire mountains. The hills appear again in the northern arm of Skye, and the view from the high summit of The Storr is a second revelation, while the Quirang is, as Alexander Smith wrote, "a nightmare of nature. . . It might be the scene of a Walpurgis night. . . Architecture is frozen music it is said; the Quirang is frozen terror and superstition." In this same Quirang, as in Glencoe, the traveller finds the greatest expression of Highland grandeur in two keys: Glencoe is grand in a majestic, solemn, imposing style; the Quirang is fierce, wild and fantastic.

The main historical interest of Skye attaches to its associations with the Young Pretender and his fair protectress, Flora Macdonald. There is a powerful tradition that the

ill-fated Stewart spent a night in that cave, five miles north of Portree, known as Prince Charlie's Cave and visited in all good faith by the conventional tourist. This belief is quite unfounded. The landing-place of Charles Edward on his second visit was two miles further south, at Hag na Bachagh, where he spent the night not in a romantic cavern but in a cowshed. On his first visit he spent a night at the house of Kingsburgh, now no more, on the shores of Loch Snizort. It will be remembered that here was Dr. Samuel Johnson entertained by Flora Macdonald during his Hebridean tour of 1773. The grave of the redoubtable Flora is at Kilmuir, near the village of Uig. In the west, on Loch Dunvegan, is the castle of that name, the ancient seat of government of Clan Macleod. Two interesting relics are preserved there, one, a flag wrested from infidel hands by a crusading Macleod, the other, Rory More's drinking horn which was emptied by every heir of the line on attaining his majority. Its capacity is half-a-gallon. Alexander Smith's *Summer in Skye* is possibly the classic of the island, but Skye has inspired more descriptive literature than any other district of Scotland save the Borders.

The Outer Isles.

There is little scenery to attract and little association to interest the traveller in the Outer Isles, that long, low, sand-built line of Lewis, Harris, Uist and Benbecula. A few hills—and these isolated occurrences, as it were—are the only breaks in a monotonous landscape, a landscape of sand-dunes, of macharlands, bleak and treeless, against whose western shores the Atlantic rollers break noisily. Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser's collected *Songs of the Hebrides* are somehow a strong incentive to visit these lonely shores, and it is yet possible to hear these sad melodies sung by native women and girls. The late William Black brought his luscious vocabulary to play on descriptions of these parts, but the truest expression of Hebridean folks, their superstitious mentality, their hard life, and their romantic poverty is to be found in Neil

Munro's *Children of Tempest.* South Uist has associations with the Young Pretender who, after Culloden, took refuge for some days in a cave at Corodale near Loch Eynort. His devoted retainer, Flora Macdonald, was born not far away, at Molton.

Returning to the mainland at Fort William, the western terminus of the Caledonian Canal, we are in Lochaber, the land of the Camerons. On the opposite shore of Loch Linnhe is Ardgour, the country of the Macleans—a "Lament for Maclean, of Ardgour" is to be found in *Songs of the North*—and branching westward through tidal narrows is Loch Eil, after which the chiefs of Clan Cameron take their name. Fort William is a pleasant but very wet little town, deriving its name from the earth-built fortress erected by General Monk during the Protectorate. A terminus of the West Highland Railway, its importance as a tourist-centre is considerable, and, for the rest, there are in the district several distilleries and the highest peak of Great Britain, Ben Nevis. This peak is hardly imposing either in its appearance from sea-level at Inverlochy or in the view obtained from its summit. Everyone climbs Ben Nevis; it is a convention which has been observed by at least one motor-car and its owner; and the mountain is referred to with disrespect by the hardy climbers who lean to the dangers of the Buchaille Etive or the Cuchullins. An observatory on the top, usually snowed in to the eaves, is out of commission. The Castle of Inverlochy, in the level strath above Fort William, has its historical and architectural interests. Near by is the scene of Montrose's victory over the army of one Marquis of Argyll who, more discreet than valorous, handed over his command to Campbell of Auchinbreck and quitted the embattled shores in a galley. The story has found expression in Scott's *Legend of Montrose,* and Munro's *John Splendid.*

Lochaber.

The Caledonian Canal, though some sixty miles in length, possesses only twenty-two miles that are actually canalised,

for the astute engineers utilised the remarkable Glenmore, the Great Glen of Scotland, in which the ice-packs of the Glacial Age left their most distinct traces.

Glenmore.

As a great commercial enterprise it is frankly a failure; the mean depth is only 17 ft.; but it serves as a tourist-route of high importance since it carries a fleet of pleasure craft across a romantic tract of Scotland. Eastward from Fort William, the canal and the main road run through a calm, level valley amidst a ring of peaks, to Loch Lochy, whence Glen Spean runs south-eastward to the wild lochs of Laggan and Treig. Near the first of these did Anne Grant, the parish minister's spouse, write her graceful *Letters from the Highlands*. Further to the south is the mighty Ben Alder, on whose rough face, overlooking the waters of Loch Ericht, Prince Charlie dwelt in the " cage " of Cluny Macpherson—an eyrie that attracted the romantic mind of R. L. Stevenson. Through Loch Lochy, the canal passes into Loch Oichy and before the ruined castle of Invergarry, where the traveller again follows in the footsteps of Prince Charles Edward. Here he lingered twice, the last time on the day after Culloden, and some days later the Castle was fired and destroyed by " Butcher " Cumberland. The whole length of the canal, indeed, is bound up with memorials of the ill-fated career of the Young Pretender. Fort Augustus, an overawing erection of General Wade and named after Cumberland (William Augustus), is now a Benedictine monastery and college for the education of Catholic gentry. The building is in early English style and occupies the site, not only of the fort, but of an ancient Benedictine property. Running into Loch Ness is wild Glen Moriston where Prince Charlie spent a month of hiding, and on the opposite shore are the savage and yet beautiful Falls of Foyers. From this Loch Ness, the canal travels through a fair, wooded, almost Lowland landscape to emerge in Moray Firth, not far from the historic Moor of Culloden.

The country north of the Caledonian Canal is, generally speaking, an unexplored region, with the wildest and most grandiose scenery of all Scotland in the west of Ross and Sutherland, and a strange, forlorn landscape in the uttermost county of Caithness. The shores hereabouts are precipitous, cliff lined and culminating in massive, bluff headlands like those of Dunnet and Duncansby. To some extent, the shore lands are green and pastoral and, except for the cliffs, not unlike Ayrshire of the Lowlands, but behind them are the *triste* moors, silent, dreary and featureless. John o' Groat's House, the ultimate point of the mainland, is the most renowned spot in the province. This John, it seems, was a Dutchman and a favourite of King James IV, successful as a merchant in Caithness, and the patriarch of a large and equally prosperous family. To preserve their exclusiveness and foster the desirable *esprit de corps*, the Groat family met at a yearly banquet. Unfortunately, as time passed, the question of precedence at table became acute, and the original John de Groat was hard put to it to keep the peace among his retainers. Finally, however, he solved the delicate problem by erecting the famous House, a perfect octagon, with eight each of windows, doors, chairs, and, most important, tables. No discussion could possibly arise thereafter regarding the precise geographical head of an octagonal table. The house is no more, and near the debatable site stands a modern hotel.

Caithness.

One of the most interesting regions to the immediate south of the Canal is the group of mountains called Cairngorm, standing high in Badenoch between the wooded valleys of the Spey and the Dee. The better aspect of the district is obtained from the low levels, from Deeside where the Royal Castle of Balmoral is, for, from Ben Macdhui or Cairngorm, the vision of the mountains is limited by the jumble of close-gathered peaks. This is the land of the marauding Wolf of Badenoch —romantic name!—and on the southern side of the Dee

Cairngorm.

valley is the Dark Lochnagar of Byron's youthful verses: "most sublime and picturesque of the Caledonian Alps," was the poet's judgment. (It will be remembered that his mother dwelt, for some time, in Aberdeen.) The Cairngorm mountains have a somewhat spurious fame as the place of origin of those delicately-tinted rock-crystals called Cairngorm stones, but it would be folly to hold out hopes to the traveller of encountering one or any of value. There are few definite associations with ancient times hereabouts, for the popularity of the neighbourhood is fairly recent and largely derived from the Royal patronage of the lands of Mar. It is, however, a country of exceeding beauty, with variations from the greenest and most sylvan vales to the most rugged of Highland peaks.

From these high parts, the hills run down to Atholl and the fair lands of Northern Perthshire. The further south, the softer the landscape; hills lose their wildness and, though still lofty, have slopes and summits more finely rounded; the low-lying straths are greener and more pastoral. Glen Tilt, which carries us from Deeside to Blair-Atholl, interests the traveller for its admixture of scenic styles and the geologist for the proofs which it affords of the Huttonian theory. Down the valley of the Garry from Blair-Atholl is the beautiful Pass of Killiecrankie where the army of Graham of Claverhouse, "Bonnie Dundee," consisting of 2,500 foot, including 300 "new-raised, naked, undisciplined Irishmen," defeated and routed the larger army of King William III under General Mackay. According to their embittered leader, the royal soldiery "behaved, with the exception of Hastings' and Leven's regiments, like the vilest cowards in Nature." Dundee, who fell in the hour of victory, was buried at the old church of Blair. Pitlochry, below Killiecrankie, is a beautiful, almost a model Perthshire town, but has little other interest to retain the traveller who must proceed south to Logierait, where the Tay, flowing from the west, meets

Perthshire and the Trossachs.

the Tummel and forms the longest river of Scotland. Two choices are open: to go south with the joint river to Dunkeld and Birnam—that Birnam Wood which came to Dunsinane and announced the downfall of Macbeth—or to travel westward, up the Tay and past Aberfeldy, to the charming village of Kenmore. The latter is preferable, for the south-flowing river leads to the fair but somewhat tame scenery of Strathmore and Strathearn, while the alternative route leads to wilder and possibly more interesting provinces. Loch Tay itself is one of the finest Highland lochs, though the main north road, Wade's highway, running beneath lofty Ben Lawers, does not afford the best view of its beauties. Past Killin, at the western end of the loch, it is best to turn down gloomy Glen Ogle and pass through Lochearnhead to Balquidder, where is the grave of that intrepid outlaw, Rob Roy Macgregor. Through Strathyre, "Bonnie Strathyre" of the song, the traveller passes Loch Lubnaig and into the county of birches and beautiful lakes, the Trossachs, homeland of Rob Roy, and scene of Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. Loch Vennachar presided over by high Ben Ledi, is reminiscent of Scott's cantos. Coilantogle Ford is at the eastern end, and Lanrick Mead at the western. Around the lake are woods of wonderful delicacy, one of them named Coillebhroine—the wood of lamentation—according to a legend in which an evil kelpie figures largely. Between Vennachar and Achray is Brig o' Turk, now historic as the first camping ground of the earliest painters of the Glasgow school. From Achray—"a gentle place, with lovely open bays, one small island, cornfields, woods and groups of cottages," according to Dorothy Wordsworth—the Trossachs lead to the more severe beauties of Loch Katrine, where are all the sentimental interests of the Silver Strand, Ellen's Isle, and Bealach-nam-bo through which the caterans drove the cattle purloined from Lowland meadows. The romance of Katrine is now largely discounted by the fact that its waters provide the practical citizens of Glasgow with liquid refreshment, the operations of raising the water-level having

swamped, under protest, many relics of the past. Through Glen Arklet, we pass to Inversnaid, where Wordsworth saw his Highland Girl, and to Loch Lomond, the largest lake of Britain. Ben Voirlich dominates the upper part of the loch, and massive Ben Lomond the lower, where are the numerous green islets, including the historic Inchcailloch and Inchmurrin. Dr. Johnson and the Wordsworths all expressed dissatisfaction with the "Queen of Scottish lakes," the poet complaining that "the proportion of diffused water was too great," and desiring "a speedier termination of the long vista of blank water." Their strictures, however, have not damaged the popularity of the loch which bears yearly a copious flow of tourists. This, of course, was the country of Rob Roy in the days when there were no dyeworks and sawmills in the Vale of Leven; now, the pall of smoke over that valley intimates to him who sails past Inchmurrin that the commercial Lowlands are very near.

Lowland Fortresses.

It is interesting to observe how military arrangements in Scotland have ever conformed to the two great natural features—Strathmore, from Fort William to Inverness, and the valley of Forth and Clyde—and how similar systems have been followed by commanders at very different periods of history. Thus on the line of the Caledonian Canal, we find a barrier of mediaeval castles, with the idea duplicated 300 years later by the subduers of the Highlands who build their wall of fortresses from the three main garrisons of Fort William, Fort Augustus, and Fort George. Similarly in the Lowland valley, Antoninus erected his Roman wall from Forth to Clyde, and a latter generation utilised the obvious rock-fortalices of Edinburgh, Stirling and Dumbarton. The second of these three had the most troubled career since it commands the easiest route to the Highlands. And it is a beautiful as well as an historic place. A compact little town in the green valley clusters round the high rock which, again, is ringed in by the hills of Ochil and Fintry. It can claim to be the birthplace of

Photo by *Hardie*

MARY STUART'S BATH-HOUSE AT HOLYROOD

Scottish nationality, since here was opened Wallace's campaign against the English invader and near by was fought Bannockburn, which, if it did not paralyse the ancient enemy, did everything to imbue the Scots for ever with the pride of achievement and independence. Unfortunately for the nation's self-respect, a section of the more rabid patriots cannot forbear from bombast over the field of battle on every 24th of June. In spite of Bannockburn, Stirling Castle had a rough time at English hands, down to Cromwellian days, while under Scottish rule it saw the murder of James II and many other sensational incidents in the reign of the Stewarts. The neighbouring palace was built by James V, and here was crowned Mary, Queen of Scots, and here baptized her son, James VI. Stirling did not know peace until the suppression of the Jacobite cause. Dumbarton Rock stands 200 ft. above the rivers of Clyde and Leven and cuts a striking figure above the noisy shipyards. It has been identified with the Roman settlement of Theodosia, and became the capital of the Clydesdale Britons. It figured in the Wars of Independence, sheltered Mary, Queen of Scots, and played its last part in history during the Covenanting period. Dumbarton stands now as one of these remains—so common in Scotland—that add a touch of romance to scenes of commerce, and point to the little that separates the old from the new.

CHAPTER XVII

INDUSTRY

In another chapter it has been indicated how, through the vagaries of Nature in the days before Man, one narrow strath across the hill-country of Scotland was formed to be the theatre of those industrial activities whereby the masses of that country's population now live. A glance at any orographical map will explain more than a chapter of topographical exposition. North of a line drawn from the Clyde in the west to Stonehaven in the east is an expanse of brown-tinted whorls indicating country that is more than one thousand feet above sea-level; south of a line drawn from southern Renfrewshire to Edinburgh is a second mass of highland; between these lines stretches a swathe tinted green, and indented at either end by the broad Firths of Scotland's longest rivers. That valley is everything to Scotland now. There are the people concentrated, there the coal and iron, and there the waterways that carry the manufactured produce of the close-gathered cities and towns. Lacking that rift valley fifty miles wide between two boundary faults, Scotland were only a name from a history book.

A century ago, indeed, the importance of this northern country was little more than political; but round about a century ago a great, new factor entered into politics. James Watt and Stevenson, Napier and Bell—these men dreamed their dreams and, incidentally, moved and shook the world. Steam became the primal force, and men turned to the getting of coal that begets steam, and of iron that goes to the making of machinery. In this era of activity, Scotland was at the fountain-head. The Clyde was the river on which the earliest steam-boats plied, and Glasgow, the head of the river, the converging point of the country's main communications, became automatically the centre of a vast commerce. In

and around that city have gathered two-fifths of the population and an overwhelming bulk of Scottish trade; in the Lowlands generally, but in the Clyde valley particularly, are the affairs of Scotland centralised.

Coal and Iron.

The earliest development, then, was that of the coal and iron-fields which are distributed fairly across the Lowland belt but are largest in the west. The greatest of all is the coal-basin of the Clyde. From Carnwath, twenty-five miles south of Glasgow, the measures extend on both banks of the Clyde northwards to the outskirts of the city, embracing the blackest country of Scotland, and terminating in eastern Renfrewshire. But the same field is not definitely limited to one river valley, for it spreads eastward almost to the Firth of Forth. At Motherwell, Hamilton, Airdrie, Coatbridge, and the hundred and one villages between them in the Clyde basin, coal and iron are all in all, as they are in Falkirk, Carron and Bathgate that lie on the eastern edge. In 1911, Scotland produced 41,718,163 tons of coals; of that total 17,504,906 tons was got in the Lanarkshire field. It is the feeder of the great ship-building and engineering industries of the lower Clyde. Little is exported, for the home demand is enormous; some two millions of tons was the quota from Glasgow in the year under review.

Ayrshire.

Second in importance to the Lanarkshire field is that of Ayrshire—almost a branch of the central measures, since a connecting link runs between them through the joint valleys of the Cart and Garnock rivers. This area is not so black, not so consistently industrial as Lanarkshire, but it covers a considerable extent, embracing the entire plain from Ardrossan to the town of Ayr and inland so far as New Cumnock and Dalmellington. Ports are numerous and convenient. Ardrossan, Saltcoats, Troon and Ayr, the first and last particularly, derive the bulk of their revenues from the shipment of coal, and it is from them that the industrial area of

Ulster is largely supplied with fuel. The facility of access to the Clyde shipyards and manufactories is obvious. In the east country occur the two remaining fields of importance. Central Fifeshire, from the semicircular tract of country around Kirkcaldy, produces an important contribution to the country's total. Here again are convenient seaports, and Methil, classed as a principal port of export, passed through in the year 1911 a quantity of 2,564,869 tons, destined mainly for Baltic ports; Burntisland exported in the same year 1,781,275 tons. The last main field occurs in Midlothian, in the region round Dalkeith. Leith is naturally the main outlet with a total for 1911 of 1,502,949 tons. Clackmannan and Kinross have their coal areas, and the towns of Grangemouth and Bo'ness have shares in the export trade from both the central and the eastern fields. But Lanarkshire is the main area of production, and the exports from Forth harbours are as nothing to the consumption of the grimmer Clydesdale furnaces.

These furnaces are roaring at the very pit-heads of the Clyde basin. In the year 1800, the total production of pig-iron in Scotland was a meagre 8,000 tons. In 1825 it was 30,000 tons; twenty years later the output swelled to 476,000 tons. Now, the iron and steel industry of Scotland is one of the most vital and prosperous in the country. It is practically centralised in Lanarkshire, in those towns of a thousand chimneys, Airdrie, Coatbridge, Motherwell, Hamilton, Wishaw, Bellshill, Holytown and Shotts; but Ayrshire has a place of importance with great works at Glengarnock and Dalmellington, while at Carron near Falkirk, are the historical ironworks established in 1760. There is only a moderate export of manufactured iron and steel from Scotland. The ships that are launched from the Clyde ways could absorb the country's supply, even if the vast mechanical and structural engineering concerns of Glasgow had no claim to a proportion of the annual output. All the metal that can be got in Lanark or Ayr

Iron and Steel.

can be used on the great western river; and here we note a peculiarity of the Fife fields whose product, not at all reserved for home demands, is exported freely—a practice against which the west retaliates by importing from Wales. Finally, the iron and steel trade concentrates in Glasgow, that city of monopolies in so far as northern commerce is concerned. Within its boundaries are several of the largest forges, such as that of Parkhead, where a great ship-building firm rolls the armament for vessels built further down the river, those of Govan and of Blochairn, and the foundries at Possilpark and St. Rollox. The production is enormous—that of steel in 1911 was over 1,250,000 tons—and again it is destined for the shipyards. Glasgow collects, buys, sells, prices and distributes the mineral wealth of the Lowlands; it is the main channel of every type of communication between producer and consumer; and the bulk of that production is destined for the building of ships which, in the end, is the staple concern. There is, nevertheless, a sound export trade, principally with the larger colonies, while the output of cast-iron pipes goes even further afield, to North Europe through the East Coast ports, or direct from the Clyde to the Continent, the East, and South America.

Ship-building.

Apart from the near presence of raw materials in abundance, there are other important reasons for the Clyde's unchallenged position as the leading ship-building district of Great Britain. The Firth of Clyde is a great natural harbour with a capacity which, in the busiest days, is never seriously taxed; off the Ayrshire coast, at Skelmorlie, is a measured mile, unrivalled, by reason of its depth and environment, as a locus for the trial-trips of vessels newly built. And yet the industry is comparatively new, the progress of a century astounding. In the year 1755, the great engineer, Smeaton, presented a report on what is now the ship-channel of the Clyde, noting that the depth at the "shoalest" places was 1½ ft. at low water; a report by Watt in 1769 was productive of similar results, and the

combined efforts of Telford and Rennie in 1809 sufficed only to bring about a depth of 9 ft. That channel is now maintained at a minimum depth of 25 ft. at low water, the tide range being 12 ft. In 1914, the largest British vessel afloat, the *Aquitania*, 900 ft. long and drawing 30 ft. of water, passed safely from the upper reaches to the Firth. If there is any grave difficulty attendant on ship-building on the riverside above Dumbarton it is that of launching great vessels into a channel whose breadth is considerably less than the length of vessels of the highest class. But that problem is solved successfully, either by launching up or down-stream with heavy check-chains, or by utilising the mouths of streams on the opposite bank. The most massive creation of man's invention can be launched successfully twenty miles above the nearest sea anchorage.

Output.

It is important that the reader should grasp the magnitude of the fact that, of all rivers of all countries in the world, the Clyde has by far the greatest output as calculated in units of tonnage and horse-power. The supremacy is indisputable, and, while the statistics for the year 1913 are the latest available, there is not the vaguest reason to doubt that, with a forced war output, the figures for the Scottish river would still head the list were lists available. In that last complete pre-war year, 1,474 vessels were built in the United Kingdom, with a total tonnage of 2,263,933, and horse-power of 2,661,260; the contribution of the Clyde was 370 vessels of 756,976 tons, and 1,111,440 horse-power. The Tyne apart, that production was double the output for any other self-contained British area, and even the great quota of the Tyne was less by 317,000 tons. As compared with the entire North-East Coast—the Tyne, Wear, Tees and Hartlepools—the Clyde production was superior by ninety vessels and 203,300 horse-power, and inferior by only 282,210 tons. Only one entire foreign country produced a total that could compare for a moment with the Clyde output; Germany built more vessels, but the

total tonnage and horse-power were less by 111,000 and 335,000 respectively.

To prove the superiority, quotation of figures might continue indefinitely, but the variety in the character of Clyde ship-building is even more interesting and important than the most triumphant figures.

Developments.

For the Clyde builds every size of every type of vessel necessary for every kind of service afloat. Dreadnoughts, battle-cruisers, cruisers, destroyers, submarines; liners, "tramps," river steamers, paddle steamers; tugs, barges, hoppers, motor vessels; dock caissons, rock-cutting vessels, sailing yachts, steam yachts, and steam-launches—such is a selection from the headings under which a year's output is grouped. In normal times, it would be easy to rhapsodise over the scenes of the Tail of the Bank, which is the anchorage at the sea-end of the ship-canal; in time of war, unfortunately, the Defence of the Realm Regulations forbid description of that variety theatre of mercantile strength. The absence of statistics, moreover, renders it impossible to measure the fluctuations of the Clyde ship-building activities in the past three years. It is certain, however, that the industry thrives and increases and, as it increases, develops in a highly specialised manner. To meet Admiralty requirements, every yard of size has set about the improvement of facilities. Extensions are the order of the day, the newest machinery is being installed, and the best scientific brains of the world are superintending these activities. When the day comes for native builders of ships to face the tonnage deficiency of the Empire, there need be no anxiety concerning the capabilities of the Clyde area to meet the problem with unprecedented vigour.

Industry makes industry. Hulls require engines and boilers, liners must be furnished, valuable plants must be protected from the vagaries of the Scottish climate; and with this great industry of ship-building have grown a multitude of incorporated and dependent industries. Of

these the chief is marine engineering. In this the progress and achievement have been in keeping with the advance in ship construction. The share of the Clyde in the improvements of the last century has been considerable. From the little paddle-engine built by John Robertson for the *Comet* to the compound engine and the triple expansion was an advance that is all to the credit of the Clyde engineers. The steam-turbine originated on the Tyne, but the Clyde adopted it and made it a sound commercial proposition, and the combination of turbine and reciprocating engine, now such a successful method of propulsion, is wholly a Scottish idea. So closely is engineering bound up with ship-building that these industries can hardly be considered apart. Indeed, it is almost the rule for the builders of the larger vessels to have allied establishments for the construction of engines, and only by the provision of machinery for the smaller classes of vessels do separate engineering firms exist. In the same connection, it is well to note the existence of a large trade in the essentials of building. Boilermaking of itself is a large concern, and nearly one hundred firms in the neighbourhood of Glasgow are engaged in the industry. The main type manufactured is what is termed the " Scotch " boiler, used chiefly for marine purposes. The water-tube boiler has increased in popularity during the last quarter of a century, and three firms in the Clyde district are engaged in their manufacture on a large scale. For land purposes, the Lancashire and locomotive types form a fair proportion of the total output, while, as recent developments, the oil-fuel burner and mechanical stoker have engaged the attention of many manufacturers. The demand for tools is necessarily heavy, and it is an interesting fact that the tool-manufacturers of Glasgow district, comparatively few in number as they are, succeeded a few years past in instituting a new British industry. Previously, the supply of drill-chucks came almost entirely from the United States of America, with Germany competing in inferior

Engineering and Kindred Industries.

qualities; now the local industry is producing these articles successfully in large quantities. Electrical fittings, pumps, propellers, pulley-blocks, etc., and all classes of sheet-metal goods are among the more important items of the thriving industry that has grown with the development of ship-construction. Lastly, the manufacture of rivets, bolts, and nuts, though confined to three or four established firms, is not the least of the allied trades. The factories are at Glasgow, Airdrie, Coatbridge, Motherwell, and Hamilton, and the aggregate production approaches 60,000 tons yearly. Every variety of rivet, bolt, and nut is made, and while local consumption is high, a prosperous export trade is maintained with every colony and many European countries.

Other Centres.

In the consideration of this colossal activity that centres round the Clyde, the observer is prone to lose sight of the ship-building activities of other localities. But the total production of these is ludicrously overshadowed by the output from the leading river. On the wider Firth of Clyde, Ardrossan, Troon, Ayr, and Campbelltown are engaged in the industry to the extent of lighter cargo vessels, a condition that obtains at Leith, Grangemouth, Kirkcaldy and Dundee on the East Coast. Aberdeen and Peterhead reach a similar level of production, but specialise in light steam vessels for the North Sea fisheries.

Structural Engineering.

To complete a brief survey of the metal-working industries of Scotland, it is essential to consider the case of structural engineering and bridge-building. Here again is a concern peculiar to the Clyde area, since both supply and demand are largest in that hard-working district. Both trades, however, are of more than provincial extent; so far as structural engineering is concerned the main outlet for the supply is, indeed, abroad, to these regions of tropic climate where indestructible material is essential. Girders, columns, and even entire buildings for erection *in situ* are exported for the construction of

tea-factories, jute-warehouses, sugar-refineries, mills, piers, stations, bungalows, and huts. The industry is growing rapidly, and extremely large stocks of steel are continually held by dealers in Glasgow, Motherwell, and other centres of the iron country. In bridge-building, one Glasgow company is outstanding. The firm of Sir William Arrol & Co. made the name famous in the erection of the long Tay Bridge, the Forth Bridge, the Tower Bridge of London, the new Blackfriars Bridge, and a hundred others in all quarters of the globe. But a number of firms, though not specifically concerned with bridge-building, have assisted in making the industry almost a specialty of Glasgow.

Textiles. Jute and Linen.

A review of the textile trades takes us far afield from the Clyde and farther back into the past than the epoch of James Watt. It is on historical record that the principal article of Scottish export at the end of the sixteenth century was linen goods, and it is a matter of fact that the manufacture of flax has centred largely in the eastern counties of Forfar, Perth, Kinross, Clackmannan, and Fife, with the city of Dundee and the Royal Burgh of Dunfermline as vortices of the industry. At the present time, these two centres have diverged in manufacturing ambition—the larger, Dundee, towards specialisation in jute products, and the lesser, Dunfermline, towards a monopoly of the Scottish trade in table-linens. Why jute should be the perquisite of Dundee it is not altogether easy to determine. Coal is in the neighbourhood, and the Firth of Tay looks towards the Baltic and Russia whence much of the raw material is derived; but a very considerable proportion of the jute import is carried from the Indian markets, and the Tay is not the most navigable of rivers. But, as matters are, there has centred in Dundee an extremely prosperous manufacture of coarse fabrics, principally sailcloth, sacking, and sheeting—another case of an almost complete monopoly, one large firm in Port-Glasgow forming the only serious opposition. The position

of Dunfermline is secure on the borders of a great coal-field, and ports for the arrival of the flax from the Baltic are convenient in southern Fife. In spite of the ever-increasing competition offered by manufacturers of the cheaper grades of cotton damasks, the trade thrives and the quality of productions remains the finest. The last few years, however, have been necessarily difficult; labour is scarce, imports are irregular, and all costs of production have increased greatly. One-half of the Dunfermline looms have been idle through war effects.

Cotton.

Cotton, the greatest modern competitor of the finer linen products, finds the leading seats of its manufacture in the west, and, curiously enough, in centres that were once faithful to the rarer fabric. Humidity of atmosphere and convenience of ports are mainly responsible for the geographical location. Several mills exist in Glasgow, particularly in the district of Bridgeton where are the more important weaving establishments. Few mills, however, carry the entire process from the spinning of the raw material to the finished article, but such as have that capacity produce a fabric of high quality, seriously rivalling the east country linen goods. These Scottish cotton products are popular in the Colonies, and a considerable export trade is maintained in certain famous brands. Much of the weaving is carried on in Ayrshire, principally around the village of Catrine, while another important water-driven mill exists at Doune in Perthshire. The highest development of this cotton industry in Scotland is the manufacture of thread for which Paisley is famous. An old industry—it can be traced back to a Christina Schaw who flourished in the early eighteenth century—it occupied a multitude of firms, till the inception of Clark's " Anchor " brand, and Coats's " Chain " brand finally brought about one of the most powerful trade amalgamations in this country. The extraordinary development of the manufacture received great impetus from two main economic causes, first, the failure of the shawl

industry and the consequent abundance of cheap labour, and, second, the invention of the sewing-machine. From the humblest of beginnings has grown an immense manufacture which employs 10,000 persons, mainly females, requires a driving power of 30,000 horse-power, and uses more than 250,000,000 spools annually.

Calico-Printing.

The calico-printing industry of Glasgow is thirty years older than that of Manchester, which latter city has contrived to acquire a monopoly in spite of the later start. The Scottish industry, however, is by no means negligible, and many factories, with a total capacity of 240 machines, are to be found in the neighbourhood of the western city. A large proportion of these, twenty-three to be precise, were in 1899 absorbed by the dominant Calico Printers' Association, Ltd., and only a few now trade independently. Closely connected with the trade and yet, in some degree, rivalling it, is the industry of Turkey-red dyeing which has centred exclusively in the Vale of Leven that runs from Loch Lomond to the Clyde. This, again, is an ancient trade—it was founded in 1802—and like other ancient trades it has been affected by the swift progress in applied chemistry of recent years. The result has been a combination of interests between the calico-printer and the Turkey-red-dyer. With them also are associated the dyer and the printer, simply, of all fabrics. Cotton is naturally the chief object of their operations, but the local manufacturers have a fast reputation of finished work in mercerised, schreinered, embossed, and fancy finishes as applied to various fabrics.

Woollens.

Linen and cotton goods are localised products in Scotland; the one in the east, the other in the west; but the manufacture of woollens is widespread—distributed beyond the Lowland belt. The most important of Scottish woollen products is tweed cloth, the name derived from the most important place of origin. It is a thriving industry this, that has settled along the banks of the Tweed, in Innerleithen, Galashiels, Selkirk, Hawick,

and many other lesser towns and villages of the border district. The wool is grown at hand on the Cheviots and the Pentlands; the necessary supply of pure and unstinted water is provided by the broad southern river; and of the many woollen centres of Scotland, this is the chief. In the last three years the output has, of course, been destined entirely for Government use, but the border manufacturers have been able, nevertheless, to sustain a proportion of their normal export trade with America and the Colonies. Tweeds—Cheviots and Saxonies, principally, and mixtures of these—are, with hosiery and underwear, the principal items of a large output. Dumfries, on the western river Nith, Kilmarnock, in the centre of the Ayr coal-field, and Greenock are engaged in the industry in varying degrees of importance. Glasgow makes a fair if less specialised contribution to the total output, and in Perthshire the industry again becomes a staple. Auchterarder, Crieff, and lesser communities count the woollen mills their most important assets. In the north, the three counties of Nairn, Elgin and Banff are largely engaged in the manufacture, with the towns of Elgin and Inverness famous for both tweeds and plaids. Aberdeen produces large quantities of tweeds and winceys. Curiously enough, the cloths of the Western Highlands are best known to the disinterested. Harris tweeds and Oban tweeds bear exclusive reputations as articles of dress; but the industries settled there are of little economic importance when grouped with the totals of other districts. It is only in as much as these local interests give occupation to a sparse population that they are socially important. Stirling, Alloa, and Kinross complete the list of manufacturing seats, the fame of the second of these being earned by its great production of knitting worsteds.

With carpet-making our consideration of the textiles may close. The industry is most considerable in Glasgow; Stirling is, perhaps, the only notable competitor. Kilmarnock once owned fame in this connection, but the interest has swayed

towards woollens and a monopoly of the Scottish "bonnet"-making trade. Glasgow set out seventy-five years ago to produce patent Axminster carpets, and that variety, with the patent tapestry carpet, remains the second city's chief concern. Brussels, Wilton, and "Scotch" carpets have a share of local attention, while the manufacture of tapestry varieties has spread to Paisley, Elderslie and Ayr. There is little sale on the Continent for Scottish products, and the West of Scotland trade is interested chiefly in Colonial markets, particularly those of Canada and Australia. At home, also, the trade is sound, and a great heraldic carpet which adorned Westminster Abbey at the Coronation of King George V was a masterpiece of the Glasgow looms. It is interesting to note that competition in the shape of linoleums comes entirely from the Fifeshire town of Kirkcaldy.

Carpets.

Metal-manufacture, textile-manufacture—these, or the first of these alone—would form a fair catalogue of Scotland's industrial interests. It becomes more and more evident that the Clyde valley is the sole important seat of Scottish manufacture, that its chief concerns, ship-building and engineering, are the pillars that support the Scottish economic fabric. Lacking them, Scotland would decline to commercial insignificance; but, while the temptation is strong to limit investigation to these particular spheres, there are other affairs in the north than cannot be overlooked. Some of these are old and indigenous, some new and artificial. Much could be written of specialities like the sugar manufactures of Greenock which flourished exceedingly in the latter decades of last century, fell flat with the abolition of the bounties on imports, and is to-day renewing its strength; but Greenock has turned to the building of ships, the prepossession of the Clyde. The special industries can be considered briefly.

Among these particular industries, the manufacture of chemicals is of vast importance, chiefly in and around Glasgow and at Falkirk. The production consists largely of alkalis

—carbonate of soda, caustic soda, soda crystals, compounds that are used in large quantities in the textile factories, in the manufacture of paper, in soap-making and oil-refining as detergents. Bleaching powder, invented and originally produced in Glasgow, ranked high in local production before the days of the Deacon method, but the manufacture has now drifted to centres nearer the source of brine supply. For use in dyeing, bleaching, galvanising, etc., hydrochloric acid is produced in great quantities, while salt-cake is demanded by the makers of glass and wood-pulp, and refiners of nickel. Another native-born product, bichromate of soda—with other chromates and bichromates—is manufactured most extensively in Glasgow, and is shipped thence to all quarters of the world; it is, perhaps, the staple of the Scottish chemical industry. Phosphoric manures have been developed marvellously within the last few decades, and the export from the Clyde plays no small part in the fertilisation of almost every agricultural country in both hemispheres. In coal-tar products, Glasgow is again predominant, wielding indeed the powers of a monopolist, while the largest factory in the world for the manufacture of cyanide is within the city boundaries, and the sulphuric acid industry has its most progressive seat on Clydeside. In all, this chemical industry is a great one; it is, at one and the same time, an ancient and progressive one. The western manufactories are on the largest scale, equipped in the most modern fashion, and capable of the highest development—that hoped-for development which is to place the country on a level with the vaunted manufacturers of Germany.

Chemicals.

More specialised even than the manufacture of these coarser chemicals is the trade in high explosives that is now controlled—almost absolutely—from Glasgow. The pre-eminent firm is, of course, that of Nobel's, whose works for the production of propulsive explosives are the largest in the world. Of these works there are several in Scotland, while others in England

Explosives.

and Wales are controlled from Glasgow. Everything dangerous is made by Nobel's; the firm has its own successful secrets. Blasting explosives, sporting cartridges, gun-cotton, T.N.T., and other explosives for purposes of war, fuses, smokeless powders, detonators—the list is over long for detail. It was, perhaps, the saving of a nation that the Nobel factories were situated in the British Isles. To close the chemical review, two further interests may be referred. Silicious clay was, in 1836, discovered at Glenboig, near Glasgow, and from small beginnings has grown a world-famous trade in all fire-clay materials required for furnaces and retorts. Around the same district, brick-manufacture is extensive, while finer pottery work is an important concern in the west, at Kilmarnock and Barrhead. The rubber-manufacturing industry is important in Glasgow, but the chief centre is in Edinburgh, at the factory of one firm which is among the most prominent of British producers of all classes of rubber goods. Asbestos is growing as an allied concern of many manufactories.

Mineral Oils.

There remain few interests to consider, unless like the average stranger we look upon distilling as a staple of Scottish industrial life. That industry is in truth considerable. There are some 150 distilleries in Scotland—in Glasgow, Kilmarnock, and sporadically over the northern counties. But little more can be said of the production of whiskey; the prospects of liquor are indeed vague. A more pacific liquid, moreover, is worthier of modern attention. The Scottish mineral-oil industry was founded in 1850 by James Young who, from the cannel coal of Boghead, and later, from the bituminous schist or shale of Mid and West Lothian, inaugurated the production of crude oil from mineral sources. In Broxburn, Pumpherston, and other towns near Edinburgh, the business is firmly established, albeit that only six companies are engaged; two producing crude oil only, the remainder producing and refining. Three and one-quarter million tons of shale are raised annually, and from these are produced all descriptions of oils for

illuminative and power-producing purposes, candles, naptha, motor spirit, etc.

Communications.

At first sight, the communications of Scotland do not appear altogether adequate for the burden of traffic that is produced in connection with the industrialism of the Lowland belt. Along that belt, laterally from the Clyde to the Forth and Tay, they are sufficient; it is longitudinally that they are most inadequate from the economic point of view. From Carlisle, the main railway route to the Clyde crosses the Beattock summit, 1,000 ft. above sea-level, while the alternative railway must run circuitously by Dumfries, the Nith Valley and Kilmarnock. The eastern route towards Edinburgh has a similar barrier in the shape of the Pentlands, and a similar circuit from Berwick, around the coast *via* Haddington. Yet the connection between the north and south is remarkably efficient, guaranteed as it is by the three leading railway companies: the Caledonian, which takes the central route by the Clyde valley, and thence bifurcates to both east and west, the Glasgow and South Western Company, which utilises the westernmost route, and the North British Company, which has a monopoly in the extreme east. North of the Lowland valley, routes are again difficult; fortunately, they are less important, excepting those that connect Aberdeen with the south, and which run down the eastern littoral through the shires of Kincardine and Forfar. For the rest, communications are not strained and, therefore, not numerous. A West Highland line runs from Glasgow, by Loch Long, Crianlarich, and the moor of Rannoch in a circuitous route to Fort William; a Highland line takes in the north country from Perth to Inverness and the north-eastern counties, with an extension up the north-east coast to the extremity of the island; and the cycle is completed by the line that runs from Elgin to Aberdeen. Inter-company working agreements are numerous in Scotland.

An acute problem has arisen recently in regard to water connection between the Firths of Forth and Clyde. The

existing canal is capable only of bearing lighters, barges and vessels of the shallowest draught, and war vicissitudes have revivified shipping interest in the possibilities of a line of communication capable of accommodating the largest products of the shipyards. Controversy rages over alternative routes—one designed to follow, roughly, the path of the existing canal, the other to cut across country at a point above Grangemouth towards Loch Lomond, and to emerge thence by a cutting to be made across the neck of land that separates Loch Lomond and Loch Long. A multitude of conflicting commercial interests are involved, geographical difficulties are numerous, and the matter is yet too controversial for judgment. Beyond a petition in the hands of the Government, there has been little progress made with a scheme whose benefits, by one route or another, are self-evident.

A Mid-Scotland Canal.

In the matter of communication overseas, Scotland is abundantly supplied. The country manufactures infinitely more material than the few million inhabitants can utilise, and the import of raw material and the export of the excess produce provides a vast opportunity for the shippers of Leith, Dundee, Aberdeen, and intervening ports on the east, and for Glasgow and the ports of the Clyde. The trade of the eastern harbours is largely with the Baltic. Important passenger lines have their headquarters in Leith, while the Fife ports are particularly concerned with the export of coal. North of the Forth, Dundee occupies herself with jute, and possesses, incidentally, a whaling-fleet; the remaining harbours are largely used by the great fleet of North Sea fishing vessels. There remains the Clyde, the greatest of all, the mother of Scottish trade. Here the shipping opportunities are more extensive, and great passenger lines have a truer prospect of expansion than elsewhere in Scotland. The Firth opens naturally towards America and Canada, and thence, in times of peace, depart the great ships of the Anchor, Allan, and Donaldson lines carrying

Shipping.

the sad freights with which Scotland is so loth to part, the emigrants. In the purely freighting trade, the main outwards traffic is in coal and iron, but the total is strangely diversified. The coasting-trade is very extensive, that with America and the west greatest of all, while Glasgow owners have gone into the Mediterranean, Baltic, and Black Sea trades only to a limited extent. There is, nevertheless, barely a port of importance in the world with which Glasgow is not in direct steamship communication. And naturally so. The products of the Clyde basin are destined for cosmopolitan use; they are everything that Scotland has to contribute to the resources of the world. Modern Scotland is Glasgow, and the ring of manufacturing towns round Glasgow—the rest follows after and is dependent thereon.

CHAPTER XVIII

CONCLUSION

In treating of Scotland of the Scots, there is, attendant on every descriptive effort, one grave risk: that of labouring the salient point of evolution. That point is change—change brought about by modern forces, by education, reciprocity, growing commerce and its inevitable results. No one would wish to postulate that such transition is confined to Scotland; but in the particular case of Scotland it must be insisted upon, for, as the author of the *Unspeakable Scot* pointed out with some bitterness and a great deal of truth, there attaches to the north country and its people a special and rather unjustifiable " tradition." It is a tradition that in many senses is beneficial to the Scotsman—it catalogues him as a worthy and vigorous citizen of the world ; but in a wider sense it is peculiarly maleficent—it standardises its representative, creates for him a narrow and restricted, if prominent, niche in the edifice of creation, and fosters against him a serious force of unthinking prejudice. And it is, therefore, almost a duty to dispel the illusion, to demonstrate that while he retains his racial characteristics, the Scot is neither the superman of one tradition, nor the unspeakable person of another, that he gradually conforms to a type which is wholly modern and wholly British.

Physical Type.

There falls to be considered, in the first place, the more or less unimportant matter of physical type. It is generally conceded that there does exist a vague but recognisable distinction in physiognomy and stature between the Englishman and the Scotsman, that the latter tends to leanness and ungainliness of habit, with a harder facial expression, heightened by more

prominent cheek-bones. These characteristics are exaggerated or modified in different parts; the East Coast, generally speaking, breeds a race that is tall and gaunt, while the milder west, with more involved strains of blood, brings forth a less austere type. On the whole, however, the Scot of tradition tends to spareness and irregularity. But that word "tradition" is used advisedly, for a modification of time is to be noted, a change that has occurred and is yet transpiring through an age of transition. Height and hardiness are the legacies of an open-air existence, and they are to be found yet in the Scots who have clung to the convention of their fathers. But more and more, as time passes, Scottish life and thought revolve round the whirlpool of Lowland industrialism, and more and more of the aboriginal type are being drawn into the struggle under urban conditions, to live in slums and labour in manufactories. And, undeniably, the physical type changes. The Lowland habits of life assist potently; drunkenness and bad housing play a larger part in racial deterioration than the Scots are willing or valorous enough to admit. It is a smaller people that emanates from Scotland now—still hardy, still spare and austere, but physically inferior to their rural grandfathers.

Another change that cannot be overlooked is also of a physical nature but is, nevertheless, of great significance, if only as indicating the spread and effect of education. There is a story of an old Scots peasant who, asked to give his opinion of the English people, opined that they were "awfu' guid-natured. But, Oh man! They are badly off for a language!" The criticism is one frequently heard from the other side. As we have seen, the Scottish dialect is pure as such, and again, it is in danger of extinction. That consummation is by no means imminent, but it is of interest to compare its intensity at two stages of time, about a century apart. The *Scots Magazine* for November, 1743, affords the following extract as a fair example of contemporary rural dialect; it

Dialect.

is the announcement of a public-bellman concerning a lost child—

"All brethren and sistern, I let you to witt that there is a twa-year-auld lad littleane tint, that ist' ere'en. . . It has a mickle maun blue pouch hingin' at the carr side o't, fu' o' mullers and chucky-stanes, and a spindle and a whirle, and its daddy's ain jockteleg in't. It's a' black aneath the nails wi' houkin' o' yird', that is't. . . The back o' the hand o't's a' brunt; it got it i' t' smiddy ae day. . . "

It must be understood that that excerpt is almost as incomprehensible to the young Scot of to-day as to the Sassenach. Compare a mid-nineteenth century example from *Noctes Ambrosianae*—

"Ye see, I hae mony and mony a time thocht that he wha first introduced shaving amang us was ane of the greatest foes o' the human race. Just think, man, o' the awfu' wark it's on a cauld Sabbath morning, when the week's bristles are as sturdy as the teeth of a horse kame and the burn watter winna boil, and the kirk-bells ringing, and wife's a' riggit out, and the gig at the door, and the rawzor haggit like a saw. . . "

The last, at least, is understandable. And if modern dialect were transcribed, it would be found still nearer to the English of literature—not pure dialect, but dialecticised English.

These are minor phenomena of change, but they indicate the general tendency, the gradual loss of these characteristics that make nationality. And the process is marked just as clearly in less particularised phases of Scottish life, in the influence of the Church under modern conditions, in the social situation of the twentieth century, in the mentality of the Scot himself. In fifty years, almost in twenty years, these entities have undergone the most moving of sea-changes; and why the transition should have been so swift, why the period so definitely indicated, it is difficult to say. They have coincided with similar movements beyond Scotland; they are of the period that saw the formation of a Fabian Society, of an age that heard conventional Christianity questioned by science, that read of social utopias, that met democracy in a spirit of

Social Changes.

gravity, that gasped at the possibilities of wireless-telegraphy, sixteen-inch guns, and heavier-than-air flying machines—the period of broad churches and devastating strikes, of upheaval, evolution, change. It is a distinct era—as distinct as the Renaissance or the French Revolution, even if it has been gradual and accomplished without bloodshed. (Remembering always that there are conditions of social life that are worse than death.) It is the simple concern of this chapter to note what has happened in Scotland during that era.

The Church.

First as to the Church. The tradition of the Church is one of the strongest in Scotland, and one that has suffered most severely from the buffets of modernism. It has been seen how the Scots, for almost precisely 300 years, were prepared to sacrifice everything for their religious ideals. The first ascetic act was to rise against the Catholic Church, in whose comfortable faith were traditionally enshrined their hopes of salvation. That was the great consummation, the greatest in Scottish history, religious and political, for all the subsequent defiances of interference were made possible only by the spirit inherited from the Reformers. Through the latter half of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century, there was strife over matters of the faith, even down to 1843 when the Church divided on the question of State patronage. That was the last vital consummation. And what of to-day? The Scots have attained their ideal in so far as the Church is a democratic institution and untroubled by secular government. But of the people who are the life of the Church it is only too clear that—ideals of freedom and government having been attained—they are unconcerned as to the future, as to their social relations with Presbyterianism, as to Presbyterianism considered as the ideal religion. The dignitaries of the Church admit as much; they complain of falling attendance, decreasing membership, and increasing worldliness. And they are right. The Scot will defend his Church, but for him

it is rather a matter of historical tradition than of faith. The Church itself is not blameless. It has divorced itself from the State and from the sympathies of a metamorphosing people; it is out of touch. The tradition of Scottish religiosity is grievously damaged by hard modern fact.

The Dominating Classes.

Then, as to the Scottish social conditions. Briefly, Scotland is a democracy consisting, in modern times, of an aristocracy that is not vitally concerned with Scottish national affairs, a capable and progressive *haute bourgeoisie* that acts and speaks for the nation, an inarticulate agricultural class, and a numerous, thinking, passionate, and potential labour class. In the hands of the second and last of these are national destinies. They are, in a sense, both specialised products of the age of machinery—the first concerned with the direction of industry, elevated to that position by personal adaptability, by the grit of their fathers, or by opportunity; (it is unnecessary to consider the professional classes which are merely by-products); the second are the descendants of an agricultural race divorced from the soil or attracted by the glitter of the machine. They have in common their native characteristics of vigour, hardness, adaptability, and passion—the last more important than is obvious—and together, they and their interests dominate the modern Scotland.

The essential point of the social system in the north lies in the fact that the feudal relationship is wholly negligible.

The Business Class.

There is no prestige of the "squire," no subservience of retainers, for this middle-class and this labouring class started level at the dawn of industrialism. A past generation found two families facing each other across the common-landing of a tenement-building in a grey street; the present finds one still there, and the other in a west-end villa with unlimited quantities of financially-acquired tone and respectability. It is the common story of the last half-century, and the product has the natural vices and virtues of a middle-class so rapidly produced. It

is, plainly speaking, newly rich and tending therefore to a certain amount of pose and artificiality—trebled in the younger generation; it frequently forgets the class from which it sprang; increasingly cosmopolitan in outlook, it loses nationality and copies from less worthy if more graceful models. But virtues predominate. In a special sense, it is a well-educated class, supremely vigorous and progressive in affairs, adaptable, reasonable, conscious of State responsibilities, and endowed with a sufficiency of the more domestic attributes. But the important fact lies in the nature and not in the characteristics of this class. It is a modern product; it is menaced by machinery; it has no link with the Scotland that was made by history.

Labour.

A similar criticism might well be passed on the labourers and workers who are the slaves of the machine controlled by their more prosperous countrymen. But sympathetic examination reveals the truth that the former are closer to tradition than the latter, and naturally so. They do not know wealth and are ignorant therefore of artificiality; though they control scientifically-designed tools, they live too often in dwellings of primitive sordidness and pass lives of almost primitive simplicity, ugly in some respects, fine in others. Artificiality touches their amusements and their work, but not their domesticity, and above all, it is not so long ago there was in Scotland no labouring-class whatever—the term being employed in the modern sense. But the most disturbing factor is this very newness, this freshness of formation, and therefore of mentality, outlook and potentiality. To labour in drudgery, to remain submerged, to be dumb under hard conditions of industry and living—these are not traditions with the working-class Scot. He is of a free race, he thinks deeply, he feels passionately, and he acts vigorously, even though these actions are forced into illogicality by the passion that prompts them. The public hears much of strikes in the ship-building yards on the Clyde or of "down-tools" campaigns among

the miners of Lanarkshire, and fumes over mental images of boorish and possibly drunken egotists fired to rebellion by imaginary grievances. There is, in these manifestations, some egotism and some imagination, but there are also the spirit of a people whose creed is liberty, the reaction from the often vile conditions of Scottish industrial areas, and the spirit of a new age. Over all is the shadow cast by the giant machine. The Scottish labouring-class is a force that must and will assert itself in self-defence, for that is the inevitable. But the problem need not alarm; the controlling and the controlled are yet able to subordinate personal interests to the interests of the whole.

It is indeed no easy matter to formulate a definition of Scotland and Scotland's conditions to-day. The tradition, certainly, demands revision, yet it is not altogether dead. As nearly as possible, Scotland is a land brought to a certain stage of development by six centuries of startlingly episodic history, and then and now subjected to a process of transition on lines that are utterly novel. Both phases are materialised in the aspect of the country and in the mind of the people. They are both bundles of contradiction. The Clyde shipbuilding yards, with their smoke and clangour, are overlooked by grave, sweeping hills that were the happy hunting-ground of Rob Roy and generations of his forbears, and that might be free to-day but for the jarring presence of notice-boards and wire-fences. On the same analogy, the Scot is equally enthusiastic regarding both periods; in the same minute he will rhapsodise over a battle axe dug up from the field of Bannockburn and over the mammoth cantilevers of the Forth Bridge, which was erected some thirty years ago. The next development of Scottish life and thought must build on some common ground for the reconciliation of these divergent ideals. For the present, at least, no such basis exists.

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